THE CRISIS

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A Fool and His Policy Soon Part

The above caption and an article dealing with the subject recently appeared in a very popular Insurance Journal. As it portrays in a very pointed way a very vital matter, affecting all policyholders and insurance companies, we have decided to give further publicity to the matter, with the hope that it will cause many present, as well as prospective policyholders to put a much higher value upon their insurance protection, and to hold their policies until maturity or death.

The public generally does not realize what a great waste, both to policyholders and companies, lapsed policies are. Some think that it benefits a company to lapse a policy. Others have such little appreciation of the value of an insurance contract that they will join every new thing that comes along, regardless of its worth or value, and of course, drop the old policy. Still others try to get a policy in every company that will take them, even though they are not able to carry, in the proper way, more than one or two good policies.

These unwise steps of so many policyholders make the insurance companies spend hundreds of thousands of dollars each year, in fees to agents and doctors to secure the business and in preparing records and issuing policies that are soon lapsed out; and which, when lapsed, require still further expense and time to make proper records of the lapsed business.

The public should know that it takes nearly the whole of the first year's premiums to pay for writing and issuing the business, making records and placing the policy. Thus it is clearly seen that no company profits when a policy is lapsed. On the other hand, each person who lapses a policy before receiving any claim or benefit therefor, wastes both his money and insurance protection. In fact, the company and policyholder lose money when a policy is lapsed. That is why the caption, "A Fool and His Policy Soon Part" gives a trite but truthful warning to all who take insurance and then lapse it.

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THIS may have an unpleasant sound to the one who wishes to conduct his business, like his personal conduct, with the least possible interference from that peculiar thing, a Governmental Bureau. When the rules are all written out in plain words, however, and you have a reasonably fair chance at an even break if it comes to an interpretation by the courts, State Supervision is not so bad — something like the line of guide posts along a state highway which you and all your competitors have to travel. The road is good and all the bad places are plainly marked. With a good engine to start, and the machine in good working order, you make better time than if you had a helter-skelter race with your competitors, looking for short cuts.

State Supervision in the Life Insurance business extends to everything. The Company has to meet certain financial requirements before a license can be had to do business at all. The wording of the policy has been subjected to interpretation by the courts, so that the policy, itself, has to conform to certain standard provisions. Investments of the Company are carefully specified and appraised annually. Agents have to be certified by the Company before the State issues their licenses. Claims against the Company have to be reported periodically to find if the Company is treating its policyholders fairly. Surrender values in the policies have to be carefully "reserved" from the receipts of the Company, and invested as specified by the State. Detailed reports have to be made to the State annually, or oftener; these reports are filed as public property and compiled by the State for public scrutiny. In addition, the State Supervisory officials send examiners into the offices of the Company periodically, to determine if the Company is conforming to State requirements in the conduct of its business.

State Supervision might be conceived as a deadening influence to initiative in developing the Life Insurance business. Under State Supervision, however, the business has developd into one of the great divisions of financial enterprise — probably because the supervisory officials, being human, like to see things grow rather than tear down profitable enterprise. To a young Company, State Supervision is invaluable for the instruction and guidance of its officers in building a stable and enduring enterprise.

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THE CRISIS

A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Editor and Manager*

Volume 35, No. 5

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THE June Crisis will have Brenda Moryck's story "Days"; the conclusion of Clement Wood's exposé of Haiti; something more of Oklahoma schools; and many pictures. Remember our prizes each month.

As the Crow Flies

SPRING is here. The only cloud is the presidential election. The rain in the cloud is your lack of interest in elections. The wind in the rain is the disfranchisement of Negroes and white folk in the South.—If war were not hell, disarmament proposals to the League of Nations would be a side splitting joke. Europe cannot disarm because Russia is absent. Russia comes and proposes complete disarmament. "You don't mean it," cries Europe, "and we won't disarm if you do mean it."—There has been a new election in Poland but the same old Pilsudski.—Mussolini, having antagonized all the rest of the world, has now started on the Pope.—The growing enemity between England and the United States arises because both want to make profits out of the same imperial exploitations. Hence, naval armaments.—The United States is still pacifying Nicaragua by killing the wretched natives; and enslaving Haiti by means of fraudulent elections—Hungary is weeping for war, lauding the Emperor Karl, and stealing firearms.—Credit values of the world are based on gold. The United States has over half of the nine billion dollars worth of gold in the world. On the basis of this, we carried out last month the biggest gambling operation Wall Street ever saw. Monte Carlo hides its head in shame.—The world wants nothing so much as work. The working people of the world want nothing so much as work. Eight million people in America alone cannot find work. College professors will now explain.—Two million of Zelophehad's Daughters are a step nearer the right to vote in England.—All of the Sects are building Cathedrals in Washington. In no place are they needed more.—The last presidential election cost Mr. Sinclair and the Continental Trading Company, over Three Million Dollars, but they won. The present election will cost even more.—The Chicago election is a free for all fight between Samuel Insul, Mayor Thompson, Governor Small, and all Italians and Negroes.—New York owns its subways and the subways own New York. Three judges, by the grace of God, will quibble over the matter and in the end the public will pay seven cents. —If Al Smith doesn't break up the Solid South, he will certainly crack it.—Primo di Rivera, Dictator of Spain, does not believe in a free press. —Jews are fighting in Zion.—Senator Fall, who has been busily engaged in dying ever since the oil bribery has been disclosing, is still able to sit up and tell thrilling short stories.—No Negroes allowed in Kansas City hotels. A few will be permitted to vote the Republican ticket in November. Applications filed in order of reception.—Says Mrs. Knapp of New York: "Ladies first in forgery!"—Nervous Nellie has got the upper hand of War at last: he's going to write it to death. —There's a star split in heaven. Considering what it has seen in the last ten years, you can hardly blame it.—Count Keyserling notes the absence of race prejudice in the United States. Three hundred millionaires note the absence of poverty. Happy land!—Our hats are off to the great-headed Secretary of Labor, Davis. He says that labor is so poor and with such low wage in the United States on account of machinery that we need more needs and more machinery to satisfy them! This is getting down to brass tacks.

The Crisis is published monthly and copyrighted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 15 cents a copy, $1.50 a year. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage and while The Crisis uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

INITIA GONZALEZ

From the Latin quarter in Tampa, Florida

The Young Blood Hungers

A Prize Essay by MARITA O. BONNER

THE Young Blood sits—back to an Eternity—face toward an Eternity. Hands full of the things ancestry has given—thriving on the things today can give—guided vocationally—inducted spiritually—fed on vitamines—defended against diseases unthinkable—hungry.

The Young Blood hungers.

It's an old hunger. The gnawing world hunger. The hunger after righteousness.

—I speak not for myself alone.

Do not swiftly look and think you see and swiftly say, "It is not, most certainly, a hunger for righteousness this Young Blood feels!"

But it is. It is the Hunger.

Some Young Blood feels it—and then they see if they can out-strip it—if they can get rid of the gnawing—try to dance it off as a man smokes off a trouble—try to float it off on a drunken sea—try to cast a spell on it. Daze it off.

SOMETIMES the Old Blood perceives the hunger and offers food: "It's the World Hunger," the Old Blood says. "It's the Hunger-After-Righteousness. Take God. Take Him as we have taken Him."

That is what the Old Blood says: "Take God—Take Him as we have taken Him."

And the Young Blood sits still hungry and answers: "Not your God as you had Him."

The Young Blood sits. The Young Blood hungers yet. They cannot take God as the Old Blood takes Him.

Not God sitting at the top of a million worn orthodox steps. God in the old removed far-off Heaven. Not God showering thunder-wrath and stripping man of all Life's compensations to prove him righteous. Not God always offering a heavenly reward for an earthly Hell. Not God poured out in buttered sentences from the pulpit four or five times a month. Not the Old Blood's God demanding incessant supplication—calling for constant fear.

Not the Old Blood's God—but the God His own Son said that He really is. His own Son, Jesus, who knew Him better than any earth-born creature knew Him. Jesus who said that He was a friendly father who wanted respectful fear and confidential chats and obedience to principle and cooperation and thanksgiving as much as He wanted supplication.—I speak not for myself alone, Lord. The Young Blood hungers.—

Growing Pains

THE Old Blood argues: "You don't seek God in too-brief garments and too-tinted cheeks—too fancy-free dance steps—too fancy-free Thoughts-about-Things."

Perhaps not—but how?

Up the million steps? Removed? Far? How? How?

The Young does not know. The Young hungers.

The Young Blood hungers and searches somehow. The Young Blood knows well that Life is built high on a crystal of tears. A crystal of tears filled with Illusory Veils of Blind Misunderstandings and Blunderings. Enough filmy veils wet with tears, stamped down hard beneath your feet to let you rise up—out—above—beyond.

Just think of the number of veils cast down! Just think of the tears to pack them down hard so you can stand on them.

Yet that is growing.

The Young Blood knows that growing means a constant tearing down of Illusory Veils that lift themselves thin—filmy—deceptive—between you and truth. Veils that flutter breath-thin across things and make you mistake the touch of Heaven for the touch of Hell.

Veils—breath-thin—so thin you feel them rather than see them.

TEARING down Illusory Veils. Jesus called it watching. Such watching that I of myself and you of yourself cannot do it alone. Veils lift themselves sometimes in the still of the night when even the soul is asleep. Eyes that kept Israel and did not slumber nor yet sleep are needed to help with the tearing down.

I speak not for myself alone, Lord. The Young Blood hungers for Eyes to watch.—

All this the Young Blood knows. All this and more.

Young Blood knows that some Truths solidified in Eternity will not rot until Eternity crumbles. Solidified in Eternity. One love perhaps is to be pure and clean or it is not love. When the mists of Half-Lies play around the face of a truth—Lord—the Young Blood hungers.

Solidified in Eternity—Rooted and tipping in Eternity. Young Blood knows this. And yet if you fumble through the mists of Half-Lies-About-Things to feel the Truth-About-Real-Things safe—sound—solid — behind you—are you a crab—a prude—out of step with your age?

Are there no regular drum-beats? Can't you mark your step to one drum that beats from the rim of Eternity up through the Dark Ages—through the Middle Ages—through Renaissances—through Wars and Remakings-of-Worlds—to the same rhythm?

Is there not a pulse-beat you can feel—beating—steady—Bloody Reigns and Terrors and Inquisitions and Torments—up to Hells-of-Republics and back?

OR is it, after all, a new gait for every new day?

A new drum?

A new rhythm?

A new pulse-beat?

A new step?

A new Heaven?

A new Hell?

Today, a Truth. Tomorrow, a Lie.

Everything new. Raw and new. No time to root before the sun sets its first rays of a new day dawning.

The Young Blood hungers for Truth for God. For the God they called Jehovah when Christ was yet to come. Where is Jehovah?—

A brief breath of a paper-weight-dress — slippers—perfumed—curled—rouged even. Can't you toss your soul out—up—beyond the mere room-full of brief breaths of dresses—perfumes—curls—rouge—and walk and talk to God?

Must you come—eyes down-cast—to an altar four or five times a month to meet God of a Sabbath morn? Can you only commune with Him when you take Christ's body and blood on an appointed day from hands not always too free from blood—before eyes that seem to lick out and eat up—lusting for Young Blood? Isn't it the call for God thrilling in the voice of Young Blood when it is lifted in song—no matter the song?

Isn't it God seeking God in the question of Young Blood when it asks: "Do you understand things? Sometimes I am afraid? Do you understand?"

IF Young Blood knew how to converse with God—would so many Young feet stumble in the drunken mazes of seeking to find Self—seeking to find Truth—seeking to drown cries within—seeking enchantments to fill

(*Will you please turn to page* 172)

The American Uplift in Haiti

By CLEMENT WOOD

First Installment of an Investigation Made for THE CRISIS *in* 1928

WE laugh at the isolation of the world of 1814, when the Battle of New Orleans could be fought several months after the signing of the peace between England and the United States at Ghent, and before news of the treaty reached the States. Yet not until the end of July, 1927, did news of the May earthquake in back China which killed 100,000 people reach the United States; and not until August 2, 1927, did the United States learn of the June 20th jailing of the seven most prominent editors, and the two most important popular leaders, in the capital of Haiti, an island whose sky is uneasy with the dominant American flag, and whose administration is supported by our armed Marines.

The news has now been spread across inside pages of American newspapers. The men, whose sole offense was to criticize a whitewashing of the Borno administration by an ousted Mexican Catholic prelate, have been in jail more than six weeks already, held incommunicado from the world. They include Percival Thoby, the distinguished diplomat and historian; Ern. G. Chauvet, editor of *Le Nouvelliste,* a third jailing; Charles Moravia, editor of *Le Temps,* a fifth jailing; and Jolibois Fils, editor of *Le Courrier Haitien,* a fifteenth jailing. There has never been a trial in any of these jailings, as far as I have been able to ascertain.

Such a situation demands information. To secure it, I spent six weeks in Haiti this spring. The United States is entitled to some light on the armed Uplift functioning in its name.

NO man stands higher in the hearts of Haitians than Jean-Jacques Dessalines, the liberator of the land, in 1803, from the imperial claws of France. Toussaint L'Ouverture, the betrayed statesman; Alexandre Pétion, the first president; Henri Christophe, the bare-footed black Napoleon from the North—all of these were giants: but Dessalines, the dark sword that beat the bright sadistic Frenchman forever to his knees, is coigned cordially highest.

Midway of the parked Champs de Mars in Port-au-Prince, stretching from the dazzling white palace of government to the residenced seaward-gazing rim of the green space, stands an impressive iron statue of Dessalines, iron sword lifted against the white callousness of the sky. A legend is whispered that, when the statue lowers its sword, this will be the signal for the natives to uprise and massacre all of the whites. The natives thrill to this; the Marines of the American Occupation know it, and remember it.

TWO nights before we reached Port-au-Prince, a drunken Marine, returning through the great curves of the park, halted before the statue of the liberator. He fell to his knees, aimed his pistol, emptied its chamber at the looming man of iron. "He aimed his sword down at me," the Marine explained the next day. With this, the matter died down; although Americans might show some slight indignation if a foreigner were to try target practice on the St. Gaudens Lincoln in Washington. But this was Haiti. Here the American flag floats high, shadowing the dusky tricolor of the Antillean Negro dream come almost true. Haiti: islanded home of strange and unsuspected activities of the American Uplift super-imposed upon the American Occupation of the country.

The Americans have bored in firmly, somewhat as the fabled camel borrowed the tent of his ousted master. The boring tactics have been consistent: predominantly American withholding of the pay of Haitian officials until they "agreed" to the treaties prepared by our State Department, and various laws urged by the Americans.[1] Then came a millennial hint: the Occupation would be withdrawn, if the more euphemistic Uplift was accepted. Pierre Hudicourt, outstanding Haitian nationalist, chairman of the commission prevented, by barbed wire and log barricades, from greeting United States Senator W. H. King of Utah in Haiti, midway of March, 1927, had been the delegate of the nationalist Union Patriotique to Washington, at the time the Uplift was designed. As representative of the intransigents among the Haitian people, he was assured by the official spokesman of our secretary of state that the Occupation would leave, when the Uplift came in. He accepted this assurance, and carried word of it back to his people.

Both cooperate intensifyingly today.

[1] Occupied Haiti. By Emily G. Balch and others. New York: 1927.

II.

THE Occupation consists of one or more brigades of Marines, quartered throughout Haiti. The Uplift consists of General Russell, of our Marines, as High Commissioner, representing our State Department; of a native gendarmerie, officered by officers of the American Marines, who draw simultaneous salaries from Uncle Sam and Nephew Haiti;[2] of Financial Adviser Cumberland, in constant consultation with President Borno; and of representatives of the National City Bank of New York, the Navy, the Marines, the Department of State, and other American institutions. It has not yet extended its sway over classical education or stamp collecting. Outside of these and a few other insignificant exceptions, it functions in the same mildly comprehensive manner that the Mississippi functions in floodtime.

Landing in Haiti is a hectic experience. Multitudinous colored functionaries, red-capped or gold-braided, kidnap your luggage piece-meal, and lope ahead of you down a blistering purgatorio of a wharf to the custom house. If you know no French, you are as much at ease as an Essex Street pickle peddler at a Holy Name convention. If you know French, you find that the natives speak Creole, a patois that would be pre-Sanskrit to a Parisian. Somehow you cull your goods into a capacious taxi, and are whirled through streets that intermittently understudy Paradise. The impressive pagoda-like iron market, the Dartignave gendarmerie barracks, the resplendant palace of government, where the president lives, the lifting combers of hills parapetted with pillared residences, the exquisite tropical flowering, these hint an Eden which constant vast advertisements of *Rhum Barbancourt* promise to more than gratify.

"Before the Americans come," frequent Marine officers assure you, "the natives lived in nothing but shacks. We Americans done all this."

WHEN an American lady asseverated this, on the portico of the mansion of Pauleus Sannon, the cul-

[2] An Answer to General Russell's Report to the State Department, February, 1926. By Perceval Thoby, Former Haitian Chargé d'Affairs at Washington, President of the Union Patriotique d'Haiti. Port-au-Prince, 1926. p. 4.

tured Haitian gestured urbanely to his own walls, more than seventy-five years old: "You call this a shack, madame?"

All of the buildings mentioned, except the palace, were completed long before 1915; the great house of government was designed by a Haitian architect, and the money for its erection entirely appropriated, before the Marines landed.

The morning after our arrival was a Sunday, and we were strongly urged to attend high mass at the Cathedral, for the president would be there. At 7:50 we reached the vast ungainly building. At 8:00 it was occupied by the military forces, led by Major Best, the intelligent American chief of police; Captain Shaker, efficient American assistant chief of police; two other American officers; Haitian Sergeant Guerrier, of the bureau of police; Postmaster General Andrew Chevalier; and chief of detectives Bonté, a shrewd French employe of the Uplift. At 8:10 the company of gendarmes, who mount guard at the palace, were drawn up in battle array around the plaza of the Cathedral, reaching to the grand entrance. The gendarmerie band, led by an American marine captain whose service stretched back to the chase after Aguinaldo, took its place, and blared out military marches. At 8:25 President and Mrs. Borno arrived, escorted by two more American officers. Detectives were scattered throughout the church, the Commissioner of Government, accompanied by armed gendarmes, taking his place in the gallery.[3]

It is always so when President Borno attends mass. His sayings are reiterated among Marines and nationalists equally; especially, to the American generals of Marines, "Gentlemen, if the Occupation is withdrawn, I go on the same boat"; and, to the same officials, "Gentlemen, if you move the marine barracks from the rear of my palace out to the aviation field, I move the palace along with you."

This was our first glimpse of the Uplift in action.

III.

WE had the *entré* to the nationalists; we met the Occupation and Uplift officials quite as promptly. It will not be violating a state secret to leak that this was facilitated by our prompt visits to the principal bars.

The agreeable American consul, the American chief of staff at the Haitian General Hospital, the friendly American provost marshal, countless American Everything-Elses, insisted that we sample the island's liquid lightning on them; and all lifted the national Occupation and Uplift anthem, "Let me give you a card to the American Club. You know, no natives are allowed . . ."

The background for this was furnished by the nationalists. When the Marines landed, in 1915, to simmer down the island's irritated political situation, the cultured natives, dazed by presidenticides and dazzled by American uniforms, welcomed the uniformed foreigners, and entertained them imperially at the Bellevue Club, the Port-au-Princian, the Marianna Club. The white officers accepted the entertainment graciously. Then the wives of the white officers came; and they at once showed a disinclination to treat the natives as social equals.

In 1803, less than a million Haitians, in a land without a school, officered by turncoat Negroes who had learned bloodshed and treachery from the French butchers, defeated, by the aid of tropical fevers, the finest army in the world: Napoleon's veterans, who had trampled Europe.[4] For a hundred and twelve years these Negroes, bullied by the white world, throve, educated their leaders magnificently, educated their peasants passably; and, for all of their sanguine backslidings, produced no Weyler, no von Plehve, no lynchings, pogroms, imperialism, yellow journalism, nor fundamentalists. They had no inferiority complex; they were willing in the end to stretch a point, and accept Nordics as social equals.

When the Occupation & Uplift formed the American Club, from which men of colored blood were excluded, the natives decided that no American in uniform could henceforward attend any of their clubs. Thus the first function of the Occupation & Uplift has been fulfilled: it has introduced race prejudice into the scorched island Eden.

IV.

WE did not attend the American Club, in spite of our guest cards. The non-governmental Americans in Port-au-Prince dissuaded us. The nightly gatherings, the Saturday evening dances, were said by them to be drunken petting parties, marked by bitter bickerings. We prefer to discriminate.

Yet we saw the members of the club, an illuminated Great White Way, hegiraing from office to bar, and then to bar again, the length of the island. Higher than the rank of Marine captain, we saw no American official intoxicated; but, from captain down, the humidity was remarkable. In one gathering, in a captain's house, the host and his wife both tried for an hour to tell us the story of the Irishman, the pope, and the lumbago; they could not, by cooperation and outside assistance, reconstruct the point. It took us ten days to trace down the story; and then, we had to get it from a civilian.

To generalize broadly, half of the American officers ranking from captain down are drunk more than half of the time. Cocktail parties—we sat in o some of these, and were told admiringly of others—would begin in the morning, about eleven, and last until the next dawn: bars, the Club, homes, joyrides ending in smashups, all in the picture. These officers had nothing else to do: the white devil finds work for idle thirsts and bodies to do.

The navy and Marine enlisted men, as a rule, behave better; they are required to. But occasionally squads of inebriated navy men on shore leave have rioted through Port-au-Prince and other towns. Recently a group roughhoused a saloon owned by a woman, throwing her out of the place, and drinking up or smashing, without reimbursement, all of her stock. A gob, insultingly drunk, caroused down a main street, bumping into many of the Haitians. He was stabbed in a resultant fracas; and when a bystander was indicted for this, and was freed by a Haitian jury, its two cultured members were financially boycotted by the Occupation & Uplift. This was denied by a number of American officers; but we observed that the hotel and bar of one of these jurymen, perhaps the best restaurant on the island, was never patronized by a member of the American governmental and Occupation forces.

WE visited the three native clubs repeatedly; we saw no one even mildly intoxicated, except a civilian American, who was pleasantly happy on sweet champagne at the Marianna, during the Mi Careme dance. We dined repeatedly with the Haitian nationalists, with the most elaborate wine courses we beVolsteaded infants had ever encountered; neither hosts nor guests were even mildly affected.

Thus, to the uplift by race prejudice, we add the uplift by example: the super-imposed ideal of the souse.

V.

THE Occupation & Uplift are seeking to Watch-and-Ward the native voodoo dances out of Haiti. When the tambour or tom-tom is pounded in the hills, the lower class natives cease whatever they are doing, and commence to dance. Garments are soon parked nearby, and the dance cul-

(*Will you please turn to page* 173)

[3] La Cathédrale a été un Camp Militaire. Le Courrier Haitien, Port-au-Prince, Lundi 4 Avril 1927. Quand le Président d'Haiti assiste à la Messe. Le Temps, Port-au-Prince, Mercredi 8 Avril 1927. Both contain full accounts of this ceremony.

[4] Haiti: Her History and Her Detractors. By J. N. Leger. New York. 1907. pp. 68-160. Studies of Haitian History. By B. Ardouin. Vols. III, IV, and V.

Black Banks and White in Memphis

By W. E. BURGHARDT Du BOIS

THE closing, in Memphis, of the largest Negro bank in the South is an extraordinary occurrence. It marks a new species of racial alignment, and a fight between black and white in the economic field which never before has been quite so clearly indicated.

There are in the United States perhaps fifty small Negro banks. Two of these are National banks and the rest State institutions. Only four of them have resources of more than a million dollars, and all of them combined report total resources of something under twenty million. They have about three million dollars in capital, and $15,000,000 on deposit. They correspond to the small country white banks. Nevertheless, they are of great significance because they represent the attempt of Negro Americans to organize their own credit facilities. They have, on the whole, been successful. In the history of Negro banking there have been many failures, including a few large ones, but many of the present banks have been in business 10 to 20 years.

Nevertheless, the whole Negro banking business is still on a precarious foundation; on the one hand, the banks have not attracted more than one-tenth of the funds which American Negroes have in banks, and secondly, their failure to do this is because the white credit system of the country cannot be depended upon always to stand back of them. In fact, as in Memphis, it sometimes is willing to overthrow a particular bank. And this is the story of the Memphis situation.

EARLY in October, 1927, with the advice and consent of the Banking Department of the State of Tennessee, two colored institutions, the Solvent Savings Bank and Trust Company and the Fraternal Savings Bank and Trust Company, with combined resources of $1,300,000 were merged. The Solvent Bank was the older bank. It was founded in 1906 and had had a long, difficult but successful career. In the very first year of its operation, its colored cashier stole Five Thousand Dollars; but colored bondsmen made restitution and the bank lost nothing. A new cashier was brought in, a young and able graduate of Atlanta University, and business grew steadily. In the panic of 1907, the bank paid all demands without resorting to the Clearing House certificates which other Memphis banks were using; and it had in 1926 resources of $1,032,000. The Fraternal Bank was founded in 1910 and represented a more popular effort working on small resources.

In the last twenty years the whole banking situation in Memphis has gone through some extraordinary vicissitudes. More than twenty banks operated by white men have either failed or been absorbed. The Memphis Savings Bank failed in 1906; a little later the Mechanics Savings Bank; then the United Savings Bank; the All Night and Day Bank; and the old Chickasaw Bank. Thousands of white and black citizens lost money in these failures and especially in that of the Continental Savings Bank whose head committed suicide; in 1914, the Mercantile Bank failed, where the colored Solvent Savings Bank had $20,000 on deposit and through which it cleared its checks. The head of this bank was one of the most popular men in Memphis and had lost millions in cotton speculation. No jury would convict him until five years after his defalcation and after he had been convicted of a Federal offense. He was eventually pardoned. The Solvent Bank was only partially reimbursed for its losses. During the past two years, the Germania Savings Bank closed its doors and its cashier committed suicide.

ALL these storms the Solvent and the Fraternal weathered. When the two banks came to be merged, there was absolutely no doubt of the solvency and efficiency of the Solvent Bank. It appears, however, from facts now at hand, that the officers of the Fraternal Bank were short at the time of the merger and had been short or impaired for a number of years, but by some means had kept the Fraternal opened. It is generally believed that Ward, the President of the Fraternal, had some powerful ally of the white race, whose influence with the examiners was enough to allow this practically defunct institution to remain open and merge with the solvent Solvent Bank. The merger was not only made at the recommendation of the bank examiners, but they especially urged that Ward be made President of the consolidated banks. It looked as though the purpose of the merger was to give the defaulters a chance to cover their defalcations. Ward and his assisting officers took charge of the consolidated institutions and immediately dismissed all of the principal officials of the Solvent Bank. Despite some rumors, the new consolidated bank began to prosper and increase its deposits.

MEANTIME, however, a bitter feeling against colored Memphis had arisen on account of the political activities of Negroes. "Lily white" Republicans had been beaten by Negroes in the naming of the new postmaster. The Negroes had registered in large numbers, some as Republicans and some in the Democratic "white" primary, and voted. R. R. Church, representing a second generation of political leadership among Memphis Negroes, and one of the original founders of the Solvent Savings Bank, had formed a league and made demands on the mayor who was a candidate for reelection. The mayor replied:

"There is no use in mincing words about the matter, and my answer to the demands of this Negro political league is the direct and positive statement that there will be no Negro policemen, no Negro firemen, nor removal of the restrictions now governing the admission of Negroes to the white parks of the city, including the Overton Park zoo, as long as I have any voice in the control of the city government."

The mayor was defeated.

Thus the Klan elements were bitter against Church, and although Church had long ceased to have any official connection with the Solvent Savings Bank, still the bank was associated with his name, and it seems probable that certain elements in Memphis determined to strike at the Negroes through the bank. The Chairman of the Board of Directors of the bank had once been candidate for Congress in Shelby County and other directors and depositors had been active in political self-assertion and independence on the part of the Negro.

TEN days before Christmas, white business men on Main Street refused to take from colored customers the Christmas checks issued by the consolidated Negro bank. Immediately, it became known that the Saturday before Christmas the bank examiners had visited the bank and ordered $25,000 cash to be raised before the bank could be opened the Tuesday after Christmas. The white

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THE N.A.A.C.P. BATTLE FRONT

Two Tours to California

TWO alternate tours to California are being offered delegates and visitors to the Annual Spring Conference of the N. A. A. C. P. in Los Angeles, June 27 to July 3. One of these tours is being arranged under the auspices of the National Office and offers the quickest and lowest-fare tour to Los Angeles and return, by special train leaving New York June 21 and Chicago, June 22, which may be joined by those starting from other Eastern, Southern and Mid-Western points. This tour is designed for those who wish to go to Los Angeles at minimum expense and as quickly as possible. It provides that those who want to return in the same way can do so, though they may arrange for whatever tours they wish after the Conference, coming home through the parks and mountains of the Far West.

THE second tour offered delegates and visitors to the Los Angeles Conference, is an all-expense trip organized by the W. Hayes McKinney, heading a Committee of the Detroit Branch, N. A. A. C. P. This tour leaves Chicago by special train on June 21 and provides for stop-overs in Denver, Colorado Springs, Salt Lake City, Los Angeles during the Conference, San Francisco, Seattle, Vancouver, and Victoria, returning East via the Canadian Northwest on the Canadian Pacific Railroad.

The cost of this tour will include all items except meals and living expenses in Los Angeles during the Conference. Those wishing to take this elaborate and comprehensive tour of the Far West, can obtain full details by writing Mr. W. Hays McKinney at 1911 St. Antoine Street, Detroit, Michigan. Those wishing to travel at minimum expense, without stopovers on the way to Los Angeles may make reservations on the special train leaving New York June 21, by writing to the National Office of the N. A. A. C. P., 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Any who may wish to go out with the National Office party and join the Detroit Branch tour of the Northwest after the Los Angeles Conference, may do so.

THE Los Angeles Conference, aside from its importance in providing a forum for race relations on the Pacific Coast, offers an unusual opportunity to visitors and delegates to see something of the United States at moderate cost and in the company of their friends. It is important that plans be made as early as possible. For in order to take advantage of the reduced excursion rates offered in summer by the railroads, travellers must decide on both the outgoing and homecoming routes before they purchase their round-trip tickets. Any combination is possible. You may go out on one railroad line and come back on any other.

Agents of the Rock Island and the New York Central lines throughout the country have been instructed to give visitors and delegates to the Los Angeles Conference all possible assistance. They will inform you at what points and when you can join the National Office or the Detroit Branch special trains to Los Angeles. They will help you arrange vacation tours in the Far West after the Conference if you so desire. And they will give all necessary information concerning routes, train service, fares and incidental expenses.

FAIR PLAY

NOTHING is more striking about race relations in America than the violent contrasts that they afford. The N. A. A. C. P. had recently opportunity to call to the attention of colored editors throughout the country that on a single Sunday in the three leading daily newspapers of New York City, Negroes had been featured as writers, actors, reviewers of books and artists, on exactly the same terms as white people and without any taint of condescension.

In its drama section the New York *Times* published a picture of Miller and Lyles in their musical comedy "Keep Shufflin.'" The *World* had a large portrait head of Paul Robeson who had recently joined the cast of Porgy, the play with an all-colored cast but for one white actor; and in its color gravure section there was an illustration taken from a scene of this play. The *Times, World* and *Herald-Tribune* on that same Sunday, in their literary sections, all had laudatory reviews of Claude McKay's novel, "Home To Harlem", and the *Tribune's* review was written by a young colored writer, Gwendolyn B. Bennett; another review in the *Herald-Tribune's* literary section being written by the colored novelist, Eric Walrond.

AT about the time the N. A. A. C. P. was able to broadcast this good news to colored editors throughout the country, it was having to call attention to the cold-blooded murder in Miami, several years ago by police officers, of a colored bell-boy, a lynching by officers of the law just brought to light by court proceedings. As the N. A. A. C. P. remarked in its letters to the white press calling attention to this outrage, there was no question of an "inflamed mob" or of a fugitive from justice. The police officers wantonly and brutally murdered a helpless young colored man in their custody. Their doing so was symptomatic of the state of feeling on race relations prevalent in Florida—Florida second only to Mississippi in its disgraceful lynching record for the past forty years.

Needless to say, the daily newspapers of Florida do not publish articles by Negro reviewers. They do not feature the portraits of Negro actors, singers and artists. If they mention the achievements of the Negro at all, it is because the Negro has been given opportunity to do his best work and to give himself freely in the North.

THE two items of news, almost simultaneous, one coming from New York City, the other from Miami, Florida, emphasize the part played by a state of mind on race relations. People say that the problems of race relations become severer as the Negro population increases. But there are probably more Negroes in New York City than in any equivalent area anywhere in the world. And nowhere is the Negro given greater opportunity to demonstrate his abilities than in New York City.

So it is not the number of Negroes in Florida or in Mississippi that brings about the outrages of lynching and peonage, the denial of educational opportunity and the oppression that poison race relations. It is a state of mind, and a state of mind chiefly among the white people. The white people will have the kind of colored neighbors that they permit to grow in their midst.

And meanwhile, in the news from New York City on one Sunday, and in the news from Miami, Florida, the N. A. A. C. P. sees good reason for continuing its unremitting efforts to wake the South to realization of public decency, its responsibility to black and white citizens alike, and the determina-

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How Much Insurance Should You Have?

By HARRY H. PACE

MANY men drift into the insurance which they have without any thought as to the amount or the kind of policies they should carry. Usually each individual buys whatever policy, both in kind and amount, that the agent sells. If the agent picks out a particular kind of policy and talks about that to the exclusion of everything else he sells that policy.

That is one reason why so many of our folks have Endowment policies today. They have been taught by the agents of certain large white companies that an Endowment policy is the best thing for them to have. And they do not believe a Race agent when he tells them differently. The result is that our people pay more for life insurance and get less than any other group in America.

The bulk of the insurance which they carry is on the industrial plan, which is the highest priced insurance in the world. The only thing to be said for industrial insurance is that it does enable the majority of our people to carry enough insurance almost to pay their funeral expenses. But in these days of high-priced funerals it takes a good deal more insurance than even 25 cents a week will buy to finish up the doctor's bill and then pay the undertaker. So that many of our folks who bought industrial policies years ago and have paid their five, ten, or twenty-five cents a week regularly for years have bought on a falling market and the purchasing power of their dollar is worth much less today than when they started.

THE same thing is true of the man who fifteen years ago bought $1,000 of insurance and thought he was adequately insured. At that time it was perhaps close to his earnings for a year. But today, it is another story. We must therefore revise our insurance program along with our income and the cost of living as it changes year by year.

It is now generally accepted that there are five standards of living possible for the United States:

1. Minimum Standard $1,200-$1,500 a year.
2. Comfortable Standard $1,800-$2,200 a year.
3. Moderate Standard $2,500-$5,000 a year.
4. Liberal Standard $6,000-$20,000 a year.
5. Super-Liberal Standard $25,000 or more a year.

Judged by these standards, the overwhelming majority of our folks are still in the Minimum Standard class, or even lower. An increasingly large number are in the Comfortable Standard. And a smaller, but increasing number are in the Moderate Standard. Scattered all over the country are a small group in almost every large community who can qualify in the Liberal Standard of Living Class. But a precious few anywhere in the Class above.

THE great tragedy of the upper classes is that they are not perpetuating these incomes. Most of our incomes even in these upper classes, are not from the returns on fortunes previously invested either in real estate or stocks and bonds; but they are the immediate return of some professional or business activity. And with the death of the husband or father as the case may be, the entire income ceases. It has become almost axiomatic that "there are many rich Negroes alive, but no rich Negroes dead".

Life insurance is the surest and quickest way to change this condition. It is the method that the most astute business brain of America has adopted both to create large estates, assuring an exactly calculable income to their dependents, and to conserve and protect estates already created. One can figure out how much certain income he would like to leave his dependents and if he is able to do so he need only pay during his lifetime about 3½% to 4% on the principal necessary to produce such an income and then be assured that his dependents will never want. And it can be arranged so that never really means *never*. You can pick out the Standard in which you want your dependents to live and assure them of that Standard.

Colored people must begin in larger numbers to adopt this method. Unfortunately for us as a race, we see and quickly imitate all the white man's vices, but we neither have the opportunity to see so much of his virtues, nor do we imitate them so readily. "Life insurance among Negroes is so small as to be almost negligible," so said the *Spectator Magazine* once. And until we change that condition our economic condition in this country will also be negligible as compared with other groups.

TO embark on such a program as suggested above we must think in terms of insurance above the industrial and above the intermediate grades. We must think of life insurance in its original sense of pure protection, devoid of all the frills that have subsequently come to it, and with a view to getting as much of it as possible for the money which we pay.

Now let us see something about costs. Taking the figures of the largest industrial insurance company in the world we find that a man age 35, who pays 25 cents a week can get an Endowment policy of $200 payable at the end of 20 years or at prior death. Or he can get a Whole Life policy of $345 which is payable at death. This premium of 25 cents a week, amounting to $13.00 a year, must be paid continuously. If he misses 4 weeks payment his policy lapses and he is out of benefits. There are no cash surrender or loan values until after the tenth year and if he pays for 9 years and quits, he has had the protection for which he paid at a high rate and that is all.

This same man could, if he paid annually get a $500 Whole Life policy for $13.88—just .88 cents more per year, for which he would receive $155 more of insurance. Or he could get a $500 Endowment policy for $24.10 a year, making the additional $300 of insurance cost him only $11.10 per year. These policies have cash surrender values at the end of 3 years and may be borrowed upon at any time after 3 years to the extent of about one-third of the premiums paid.

Or if he is farther up in the scale of income, this same man, at age 35, can obtain from one of our own companies $1,000 of insurance for $28.45, or $655 more of insurance for just $15.45 a year more than he is paying at the rate of 25 cents a week.

If he is still higher up in the income scale and wants to protect himself as much as he can for as small an amount as possible he can buy $5,000 of Whole Life insurance for $130.00 a year. For just 10 times the amount the industrial man pays this man can get nearly 15 times as much protection, with all the features of cash surrender, loan, and extended insurance values.

NOW how large a part of one's income should be put into life insurance. The general answer is put every dollar you can. But to enable one to reach some intelligent conclusion let us take some figures and try to Budget them. Here is a pretty good general budget for the average

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The Little Page

By EFFIE LEE NEWSOME

Calendar Chat

WHEN the fields are all fresh and sweet with the spring then the lark sings. A May day! Here is the new wheat that has been coming up through the snow. You are gazing at its refreshing bluish green blades when there sounds a breezy whistling from an unseen bird. But oh! you know it is the meadowlark. Its song is so airy.

You look for the lark then finally find him at the edge of the field. Somewhere off in the pleasant maze of wheat Mother Meadowlark is busy with her young. When the farmers are ready to cut the wheat these birdlings will be able to care for themselves, if meadow mice spare them.

One always feels sorry for birds reared on the ground. Once I came upon some poor little ugly gray doves that looked as though they were fashioned from old gray rubber overshoes. Lying flat on a bald spot in a pasture they looked more like "ugly ducklings" than doves.

The doves cooing their sad little songs in May when other birds are singing joyously used to awake my sympathy. But upon finding Mother Dove's nests carelessly set here and there where cats could get them with ease, I would feel vexed at dove stupidity. Then the way that they were flung together!—a chip here, a coarse bit of brush there, unhomelike, cheerless looking, yet one could not cherish ill feelings toward such gentle creatures as doves.

Ooze of Frog, Musk of Muskrat, Feather of Owl

ALL the kobolds in a party of six booked to ride on Cress Lake were aboard but one and were sailing away on the Twilight Trip. The missing kobold was Acorn Cap. And he was not there BECAUSE——!

He had been terrible. Instead of resting in the afternoon as all sane elves are expected to do that they may be refreshed and ready for moonlight rambles Acorn had meddled with affairs of the household in which he lived as cupboard crevice neighbor to Antique the prim cricket that baked humble pies all winter and sold them in the summer time when the millet was ripe. Antique was quite a different creature from the mischievous kobold.

The cook in preparing dinner had dropped some peas on the kitchen floor.

And Acorn had attached invisible strings to these to keep rolling them up and down the linoleum to the disgust of the cook and the butler, Jacket, who actually got to quarreling over them. Acorn watching from Antique's winter home chuckled as only pixies and kobolds can. Inside the noise suggests a mouse squeak. Outside it is like the "tweak" of a bat.

But Acorn frolicked so long that when his friends were ready for their evening pleasures he lay exhausted in the cricket's cubbyhole. Suddenly in dreaming he seemed to catch the piping of a tiny boat whistle. Up sprang Acorn Cap. Yes! It was the Twilight Trip starting on its outing for water cress.

POOR ACORN CAP jumped out of his hole, climbed to a window in the buttery, kicked an opening in the screen and plunged through downward to the dripping grass. Off he rushed. But when he reached Cress Lake the bat wing sails of the Twilight Trip were full spread and she was speeding away.

"What in the world is your trouble?" croaked Stile Legs, a frog that sat by the lake.

"If you'd ever tried to catch a boat and been able to catch only a glimpse instead you could understand," panted Acorn Cap.

"No need to be tart. When one misses a boat it is seldom the boat's fault. But get on my back, pixie. I don't mind taking you across to your ship. I thought you little creatures could swim and do everything else."

"Thanks so much." Acorn Cap sprang to the bronze back of Stile Legs and the voyage began.

Out and out, out and out went the long hind legs of the frog. Acorn's heart bounded. They were approaching the Twilight Trip and he could see its passengers bent over the ship side and seining cress as they leisurely floated.

"I wonder why you missed your party," speculated Stile Legs as they passed a muskrat lodge. I thought kobolds were punctual. I knew one who actually lived with a nervous little wooden cuckoo just for the sake of being on time, and kept house in a clock chalet."

"WELL, I would have been here earlier," Acorn began as Stile Legs sped on, "but——"

"Never mind, interrupted Stile Legs now growing weary of his passenger. "Lateness is lateness. No fence around it." And with an impatient twitch he shoved Acorn Cap from his slimy shoulders to the back of a muskrat that was emerging from a starwort tangle.

"Sorry," soon murmured Placid the muskrat, "but I turn in here at this cave. 'Fraid the hawks and owls will steal my babies."

"Don't take me into all that choking stuff," cried Acorn Cap. "My party's in the middle of the stream."

"Sorry again," Placid breathed. "This is home." And she gently shook Acorn Cap from her back to the roots of a water willow in order that he might climb up to land.

The shrill whistle of the Twilight Trip sounded again.

"So far away," Acorn Cap thought as he gazed sorrowfully toward the speck on the water. And he dropped, sobbing, to the willow roots.

"Hoot, hoot, hoot! Get up from there at once," cried a voice from the old willow tree. "I'm Brown Bar the owl. I heard that sly muskrat talking about my stealing her babies. But I'll show you I have a better heart than she." And down flew Brown Bar.

HE made Acorn Cap mount him, and flying out to the Twilight dropped the elf on the net of cress. "There!"

"Haul me up," cried delighted Acorn Cap. "I'm a passenger."

Captain Float turned his glasses sternly upon him from the Twilight Trip and stared down. "Passenger?"

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THE POET'S CORNER

City Streets

By MICHAEL FRAENKEL

ALL day long
people came in and out of me—
clean people, well-groomed gentlemen
with polished canes,
dirty people with the stink
of their trades on their hands,
and clothes, and hairy bodies.
And women with high heels,
and furs over their necks,
and insolently smooth skins,
and proud, well-reared buttocks,
and prostitutes with their castrate leers
lurking from the glossy corners of their eyes,
and the greasy public smell all over them:
all day long they walked,
and beat down upon my heart,
my brain, into my blood,
so that now I have to take them
all to bed with me,
my body, all of me,
a city of beaten streets of feet.

A Tree

To M. V. C.

By LEWIS ALEXANDER

(Leaves)

TENDER green eyes flashing,
To catch the eye of God
Thanking him for bounties
Flowing from the sod.

(Branches)

Praying arms outstretched
To the silent sky,
Penetrating vastness
For a mute reply.

(Body)

A brown gnarled vase
Lacquered with bark.
The resting place
Of a singing lark.

(Roots)

Tiny tripping toes
Pivoted in soil
That the swaying body
Never may recoil.

(L'envoi)

The dance of leaves is a beautiful thing.
The lyric of branches sweet.
The cry of a body bent by the wind
And roots rumbling in retreat.

The Parting

By BEATRICE M. MURPHY

'TIS not the parting
That means so much.
Ah! No!—
It is the frequent

Marita O. Bonner
"The Young Blood Hungers"

After meetings
That carry
The deeper sting.

When your eyes meet mine
(Those eyes once full of love)
In a chilling stare—
When your lips say
A curt "good day"
(Those lips that once clung to mine)—
When your arms
(That held me once in such a tight embrace)
Are raised now
Only to tip your hat
Or for formal handshakes—
When we meet again
At the old trysting places
Among the old
Familiar scenes
And cannot recall
Even by a glance
The sweet memories
That flock about us
As bees about honey—

Ah! these! These
Hold the deeper sting!

The New Negro

By
ELSIE TAYLOR DU TRIEUILLE

"HEY there, Bub! I say!"
Silence. ("He knows my name.")
"Hey George! This way!"
Silence. ("Same, old, game.")
"Hey, darky! You!!"
Silence. ("Same, old game.")
"I'll be damned if tain't true!
Nigger showing off, posing offense
At a name. Do you think I'd 'Mister' you!
Black beast! Any name
For you'd be an honor. Who
Looks at you, sees a cringing, tame
Beast. Intelligence! Bah!
Blunt as pig iron. Black soul!
What's in you to respect! Ha!
Ha! I could take the whole
Of your race and dam the oceans with its refuse!
Stinking flotsam! Black beast!
God! Who has use
For your carcass!"
So, at least,
Was this white man's thought.

BUT out of this stinking flotsam, God
Wrought a young knighthood.
Sworn to their vows, with flashing sword
And dazzling shield, they stood—
A new order of Negro Youth, eager
For the quest of the Guarded Heights.
God bade them, "Go forward! No meager
Whims of men shall put to flight
Your soul's great force. Wear
My favors, Vision and Love.
Evil shall glower, a few shall dare
To mock; but steadfast above
All pettiness, you shall stand.

"NEW NEGRO, sing your soul's own song,
Holy, majestic, grand.
Your notes shall lead a jeering throng
From baseness to nobility.
Dip your gilt-edged pen in the well-spring
Of your heart. With swift agility,
Fling word on word to pierce and sting
As the rapier thrust, men's hearts.
Your daring pen shall slowly lessen
Studied, insidious plots
Of prejudice and inhuman oppression.
Open the flood-gate of your vivid soul.
On crested waves of creative
Genius, unveiled beauty shall roll
Forth, to transform, to give
New life to barren canvass. Men
Shall gaze astounded and their
Eager hands shall reach out then,
Not to despoil, but to share,
To possess the lofty inspiration
Pure art alone can give.

"NEW NEGRO, in this generation
You shall fully live.
'The old order changeth'. Not
Mold of face, nor color of skin
Shall conquer the cruel heart
Of race tyranny, or bigotry, its kin.
They shall perish by your flashing sword
Of ability. Your shield, brightly
Emblazoned with fine achievement, shall afford
Invulnerable armor for unsightly
Barbs of asinine abuse. Knights
Of the order of New Negro Youth,
You shall reach the Guarded Heights
With weapons of integrity and truth."

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

Dr. J. A. Somerville of the Los Angeles Committee arranging for the N. A. A. C. P. Annual Conference

PERSONAL

¶ The Reverend C. H. Johnson, D. D., of Birmingham, Ala., a graduate of Knoxville College, Class 1888, has deeded to the college, property he holds in Birmingham valued somewhere between $40,000 and $50,000. Dr. Johnson has deeded this property to Knoxville College with the proviso that he will retain the management during his lifetime, but the benefits of the gift are to accrue to the College after his death. The gift is to produce a fund, the income of which is to be used for scholarships for worthy students. Dr. Johnson has spent his life in work under the direction of the Board of Home Missions of the United Presbyterian Church. His activities have been confined chiefly to the schools planted and maintained by the United Presbyterian Church in the southwestern part of Alabama. Dr. Johnson has keen business ability and with careful saving and wise investment he has been able to accumulate this property which he now deeds to Knoxville College.

¶ St. Luke Brown, the colored Hampton student, who was arrested for striking a white teacher, was given a jail sentence and a fine of $250. The jail sentence was suspended on evidence of the boy's previous good character.

¶ James Weldon Johnson has discussed Negro Literature during March at the Bennett College for Women, the North Carolina College for Negroes, Johnson C. Smith University, Atlanta University, the Alabama State Normal School, Tuskegee Institute and Talladega College.

¶ J. E. Shepard, President of the North Carolina College for Negroes, addressed a large meeting of the students of Duke University at Durham.

¶ Will Rogers, the famous humorist, spent a Sunday in March at Tuskegee Institute and addressed the students. He left a check for $500 for the institution.

¶ Alfred J. Elkins, a graduate of Atlanta University and the University of Minnesota, has been appointed to the post of Junior Resident Physician in Glen Lake Sanatorium near Minneapolis, Minnesota. This is one of the two greatest sanatoriums in the world for tuberculosis. This work will be given full credit by the University of Minnesota for intern duty and Mr. Elkins expects to receive his Doctor's degree in June.

¶ Herman Banning, a Negro of Ames, Iowa, has been licensed by the United States Department of Commerce as an Aviator. He has made extended flights through Iowa, Minnesota and Nebraska.

¶ Charles A. Surles, a colored man, has been elected to the Board of the Community Welfare Association of Scranton, Pennsylvania.

¶ Miss Helen J. Stewart, a colored girl, has successfully passed the Civil Service Examination for Librarian at the Milwaukee Public Library. Miss Stewart has been an Extension student at the University of Wisconsin and ranked 150 other students who entered the competition. She will serve as Librarian at the Lapham Park Branch library.

¶ George Walker Buckner, Vice President and General Manager of the Peoples Finance Corporation, St. Louis, died of pneumonia in March. Mr. Buckner was born in Virginia; educated at Hampton and Virginia Union, and taught at Tuskegee. His premature death is a great loss to the financial development of the American Negro.

¶ Robert C. Weaver, a Junior at Harvard, has been awarded the Pasteur Medal for the best speech on the proposed treaty outlawing war between France and the United States. Weaver is a member of the University Debating team and a graduate of the Dunbar High School, Washington.

¶ Enid A. Cook, a graduate of Dunbar High School, Washington, ranked her class in scholarship at Bryn Mawr College. She is the first student of Negro descent admitted to Bryn Mawr.

¶ Dr. Peter M. Murray, of the Surgical Staff of Harlem Hospital, has been appointed Associate Surgeon on the staff of Broad Street Hospital, an institution affiliated with the Flower Medical College. He is a graduate of Howard.

MEETINGS

¶ The National Association of Collegiate Deans and Registrars in Negro schools, met at Fisk University in March. They discussed "Negro College Curricula". Fifty-two Deans, Registrars and Secretaries were in attendance, representing all of the chief Negro institutions. Ambrose Caliver of Fisk was elected President and Howard D. Gregg of the State A. and M. College, Orangeburg, S. C., Secretary.

¶ The International Missionary Council, which has been meeting in Palestine, has heard speeches by Dr. John Hope, President of Morehouse

Miss Emma Lou Sayres
Secretary of the Los Angeles Branch, N. A. A. C. P.

College and Max Yergan, representing the Y. M. C. A. in South Africa. W. W. Alexander of the Inter-racial Movement has also spoken and Harold Grimshaw of the Native Labor Section of the International Labor Office. The meeting has been widely noted and very successful.

¶ At the Student Volunteer Convention held at Duke University, the richly endowed white University at Durham, North Carolina, Miss Maggie Simpson was elected Secretary of the colored Group at the Conference and appointed to the Executive Committee. She is a Sophomore at Bennett College for Women and a member of the Southern Student Council of the Y. W. C. A.

¶ The 8th annual session of the National Negro Insurance Association met in April in the city of Cleveland. It is composed of 30 companies and Dr. J. E. Walker of Memphis is President.

¶ The 29th annual session of the National Negro Press Association was held in Louisville, Kentucky in April.

¶ The General Conference of the African M. E. Church meets in Chicago in May.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

¶ Longsmans, Green and Company, announce "Lives of Eminent Africans" by G. A. Gallock, former Associate Editor of the *International Review of Missions*. Among the Africans noted are: Tshaka, the Zulu King, Moshoeshoe, the great Zulu chief, Khama, Bishop Crowther and others.

Will Rogers with Dr. Moton at Tuskegee

¶ When Helen Keller spoke at Norfolk, Virginia, Negro school children were not allowed to come and hear her. Despite a lame leg, she went to the Negro school and talked to them.

¶ The Chief of Police, H. L. Quigg of Miami, Florida, has been indicted for murder in the First Degree, for ordering the murder of a Negro boy two and one-half years ago.

¶ T. J. Woofter of the University of North Carolina has been studying sixteen American cities. He says that between 1900-1925 the urban Negro population doubled, with consequent over-crowding and high death rate. On the other hand, the increase in Negro home ownership has been striking.

¶ The Kentucky Legislature at its last session appropriated $635,000 for the support of Negro institutions. Half of this was to replace a building recently burned at the Kentucky Industrial College at Frankfort. The West Kentucky Industrial College at Paducah received $200,000 for new buildings. The Red Cross Sanatorium for Negroes received $10,000 and the Kentucky Home Society for the care of colored dependent children received $25,000.

¶ "Go-To-High-School-Go-To-College" Week, is observed by the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity April 29th to May 5th. Meetings take place all over the United States.

¶ The Presbyterian Church, after drawing the color line against Negro missionaries to Africa, has at last appointed the Reverend I. W. Underhill and Miss Susan T. Reynolds, his fiancée, of Philadelphia, as the first colored missionaries to the West African Mission of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Underhill is a Senior in the Princeton Theological Seminary and "decidedly the best student of colored blood we have ever had in the Seminary".

Anne Spencer in the midst of her poems, at Lynchburg, Va.

"Spring is come!"

¶ For the first time Negroes have been given a prominent place on the program of the Georgia State Conference for Social Work. The Conference met in Columbus, Georgia. The program announced: "A discussion of the special problems and especial handicaps which face persons doing social work of all kinds among Negroes in Georgia. The presentation, however, will not emphasize the problems and handicaps per se, but rather the way in which they are being met by some workers, or by some communities."

¶ William Pickens reports that in a little less than four years, colored babies, assisted by a few grown-ups in the United States, have raised $51,506 for the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He calls this the Tenth Crusade, following the 9th Crusade, by which the late Mary Talbert and her co-workers, raised $15,000 to fight lynching.

¶ The Association for the Advancement of Negro Country Life has been formed, with Benjamin F. Hubert of the Georgia State Industrial College as Executive Secretary.

¶ The Supreme Life and Casualty Company of Columbus, Ohio has just completed and dedicated at Cincinnati a branch office building at a cost of $75,000. It is on land formerly owned by a colored woman; was sold by a colored real estate dealer, and with the exception of a half dozen iron and terrazo workers, was entirely built by Negro labor.

EDUCATION

¶ The Bethune-Cookman College had on its annual All States Day, representatives from thirty-four states, besides Canada, Jamaica and England.

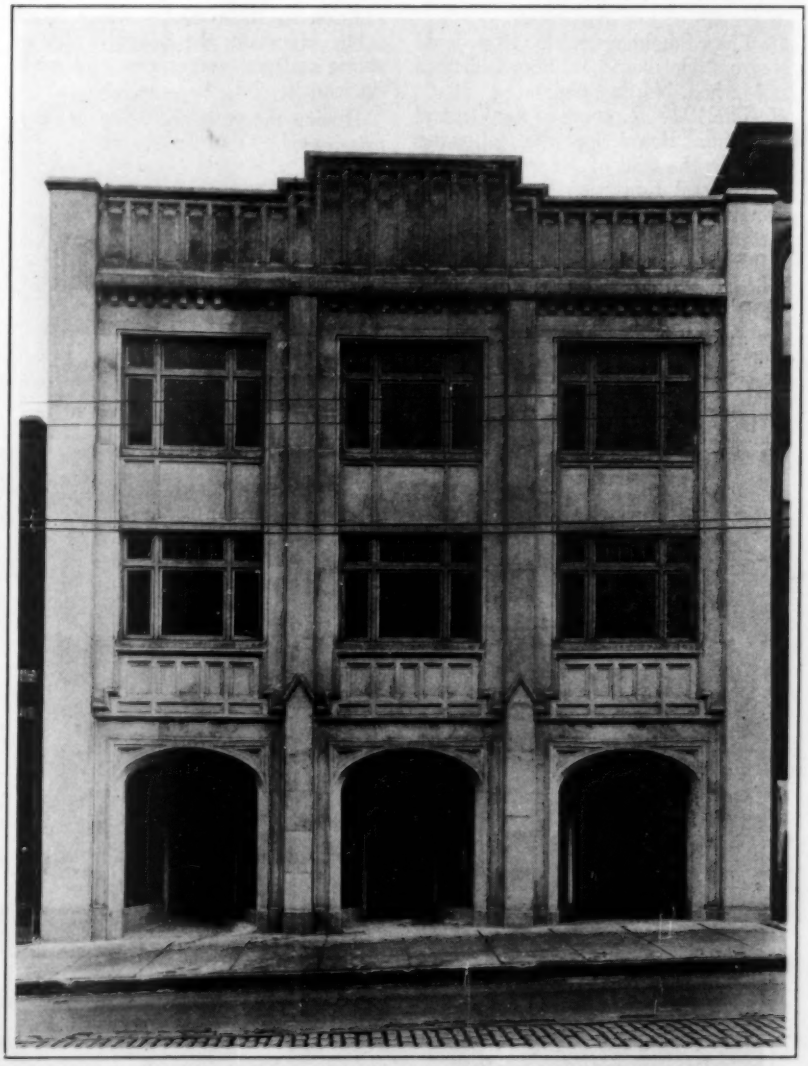
¶ The Jeanes Fund for the improvement of Negro rural schools, co-operated with public school boards and superintendents in 306 counties and in 14 states, during the year ending June 30, 1927. Three Hundred and Nine Supervising Teachers made 51,011 visits to 9,428 schools and raised for school improvement $495,845. They received $273,418 in salaries, of which the Jeanes Fund paid $108,547. The Fund has established 306 teacher training schools with 2,161 teachers; 11,810 pupils in high school grades, who are paid $1,104,510 in salaries from the the public tax funds, or an average of $3,610. To this the Slater Fund and the General Education Board has added $106,000 and the General Education Board in Education has given $64,801 for building and equipment.

¶ John D. Rockefeller, Jr., will deliver the Commencement address at Fisk University next June. Julius Rosenwald has offered to give $25,000 for campus repairs at Fisk if a similar sum is raised by other friends.

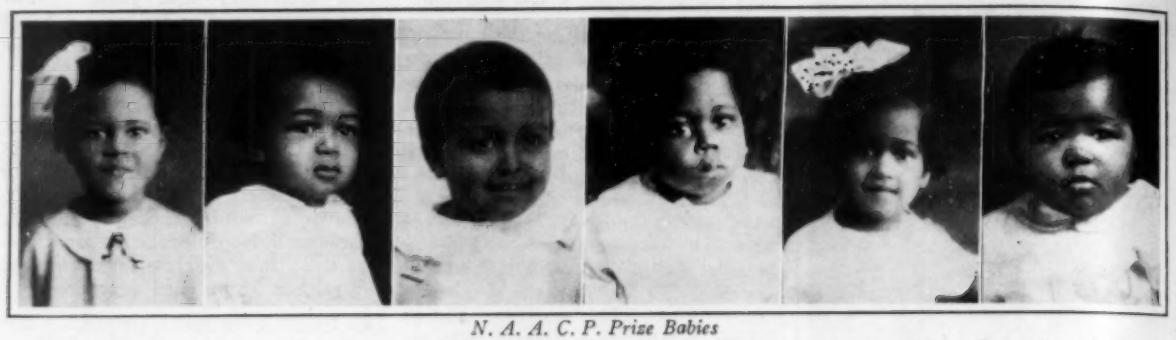
¶ The Department of the Interior, announces that approximately 14,000 Negroes are doing work of college grade in the United States under 1,100 Negro teachers, in addition to a large number of white teachers employed. "Leaders in Negro education are stressing more than ever the importance of liberal and professional education".

¶ In the Christmas CRISIS, 1927, appeared an article on the South Carolina Negro Common Schools. It was stated there that Avery Institute, on account of unfavorable industrial conditions, had not been able to raise the $3,500 which it set out to get for the support of the institution. This was a mistake. Every cent of the money was raised, despite the abundant difficulties.

¶ A bill has passed the Kentucky



The new Cincinnati headquarters of the Supreme Life and Casualty Insurance Company



N. A. A. C. P. Prize Babies

Marie Blakey
3rd prize
Georgetown, Ky.

Julian N. Jackson
3rd prize
Newport, R. I.

William Amado
2nd prize
Newport, R. I.

Robert W. Butler
2nd prize
Georgetown, Ky.

Mary J. Bailey
1st prize
Georgetown, Ky.

Jean Brown
1st prize
Nashville, Tenn.

Legislature increasing its school levy from Five Cents to Seven Cents on each $100 of taxable value. This is presumed to provide for the maintenance of a Colored Department of the University of Louisville. Out of the last Million Dollar bond issue, $100,000 was set aside for the building and equipment of this department.

¶ The four-thousandth Rosenwald Negro school house has been dedicated at Method, North Carolina.

¶ The 1926-27 report of the General Education Board has the following note: In the field of Negro education, the General Education Board has had to take advantage of opportunities as they arose; and needs were so various and urgent that it was impossible to proceed on the basis of a program already worked out. At the present time, the Board is coooperating with state and county authorities in maintaining rural school agents, in improving normal schools, in equipping county training schools, in enlarging and equipping normal schools and agricultural and mechanical colleges, and in procuring better training for especially gifted or promising teachers; it is cooperating with the Jeanes and Slater Funds in accomplishing the objects for which those foundations were created. In addition to these efforts which touch public education, the Board is also assisting colleges, universities, and medical schools.

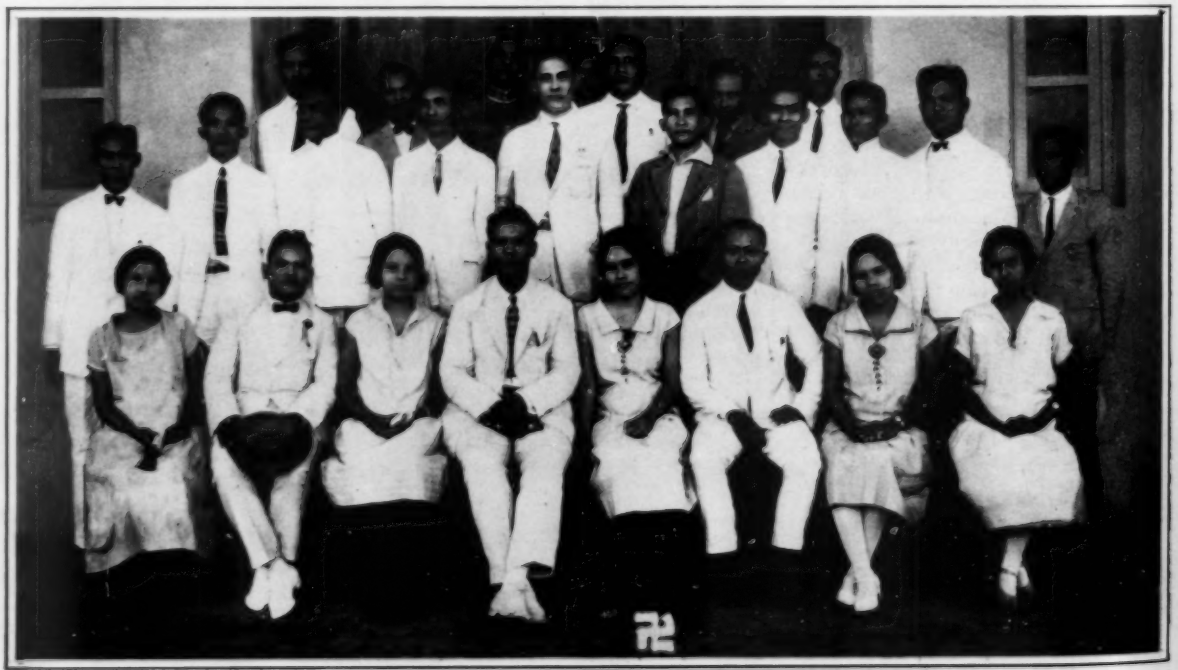
During the year 1926-27, its appropriations for these purposes were as follows:

Public Education, (including Normal Schools and Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges)	$1,021,550.00
Endowed Colleges ...	804,166.68
Medical Education ..	85,065.87
Total	$1,910,782.55

The general situation has now so far improved that the Board's activities in the field of Negro education may, it seems probable, be advantageously reorganized. The officers are engaged in a careful survey of the subject in the hope of discovering the most effective method of concentrating the Board's work.

¶ Georgia State Industrial College has received contributions of $50,000 from the General Education Board and Julius Rosenwald for new buildings. The legislature appropriated $115,332 for the maintenance of the college two years instead of the $20,000 which it used to appropriate.

¶ Six prominent Negro educators have been named by the Department of Interior, to serve as Consultants in the Land Grand College Survey being conducted by the Bureau of Education. They are: B. F. Hubert, President, Georgia State Industrial College, Savannah, Ga.; John M.



"Tribe Number 25" of a Philippino Fraternal Organization

Gandy, President, Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, Ettricks, Va.; John W. Davis, President, West Virginia Collegiate Institute, Institute, West Virginia; J. S. Clark, President, Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Scotlandsville, La.; J. R. E. Lee, President, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, Tallahassee, Florida, and Elizabeth C. May, head of Department of Home Economics, Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College, Prairie View, Texas.

¶ Thirty-seven colored students have been granted scholarships for the year 1927-28 by the Educational Board of the Colored Order of the Elks of the world. With one or two exceptions the scholarships are for $250 each. The students are attending the following institutions: The University of Nebraska, Amherst College, University of Illinois, Fisk University, University of Kansas, University of Minnesota, University of Pittsburg, Drake University, Howard University and twelve other colored institutions.

¶ The Co-operative League announces a full-time day school for the training of co-operative employees during May and the first half of June in New York City. Tuition fee is $25.00, and there are a few scholarships. Interested persons may address the Eastern States Training School, 167 West 12th Street, New York City.

MUSIC AND ART

¶ The Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority has held an exhibition of paintings and etchings by Allan R. Freelon at the Y. W. C. A., Philadelphia.

¶ The Columbia Conservatory of Music under Wellington Adams at Washington, D. C., has four new instructors for the spring. Mr. Adams won a Rodman Wanamaker Prize last year.

¶ The Hall Johnson Negro choir of twenty voices gave a concert at the new Pythian Temple, New York. Negro spirituals were presented.

¶ Miss G. P. Brown of the Ancrum School of Music, Boston, gave a play, recital and reading of poems at Bates Hall in March.

¶ The Gilpin Players of Cleveland have presented "The Rider of Dreams" and "Simon, the Cyrenian" in support of the Travis Fund for African Art.

¶ At an exhibition held at the Galleries of Thomas Russell, New York, the first sale was a painting by John T. Hailstalk, an elevator operator and laborer. It was his first attempt.

¶ Hampton Institute choir of 100 student voices, under the direction of R. Nathaniel Dett, sang at Carnegie Hall, New York, April 16th. The music included Russian, early Christian and Negro music. Dr. Dett is just publishing a sonatina in four movements called "Cinnamon Grove".

¶ The Peoples Symphony of Boston, which gives Sunday afternoon concerts in Jordan Hall, invited Thomas Johnson, a colored tenor, to be soloist at its All American Concert April 8th. Johnson is a native of Birmingham, Alabama, and was trained at Morehouse College and the New England Conservatory of Music.

¶ Albert A. Smith, the well-known New York artist, who has just returned from Paris, held in March an exhibit of paintings, lithographs and drawings at the School of Design and Liberal Arts, New York City.

Portrait of Anna Washington Derry. Harmon Prize Paintitng by Laura Wheeler-Waring

EAST AFRICA

¶ The Governor of Mozambique, Portuguese East Africa, states that natives receive six shillings ($1.50) a month with rations and accommodations. He says, "They are satisfied and their wants are few."

¶ The Kikuyu Central Association has presented a memorandum to the English Commission visiting East Africa. It expresses alarm that non-official Europeans are to have more voice in the Government, since "in the past, whenever the unofficial European had his way, he has shown a decided tendency in the direction of usurping the natives' land, reducing him to the position of a wage-earner and restricting him in movements and opportunities". They ask that the "huge amount" which they pay in taxation should be spent on native education, sanitation and medical service. They want deserving boys educated in England.

¶ Constable Muni wa Mutumbi of the Kenya East Africa Police, saved the life of a British officer attacked by a lioness. He was rewarded with two blankets, but the matter came up in the House of Commons and he has now been awarded a medal!

SOUTH AFRICA

¶ The Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council has granted an appeal to the Universal Negro Improvement Association from the judgment of the Supreme Court of British Honduras in the case of I. E. Morter's will. The Supreme Court had held that gifts to the U. N. I. A. were illegal.

¶ Sydney G. Atwell has published in London a novel on South African culture, "Drifting to Destruction". He predicts a bloody uprising of natives unless the present attitude of whites toward blacks is changed. The author once lived in South Africa, but owing to the outlook, sold his property and went to New Zealand.

LIBERIA

¶ A party of French rubber experts has made an extensive tour of Liberia. They report that Liberian rubber is well cultivated and that there is abundant labor and a large output of rubber may be expected.

¶ The third Inaugural Ball for President King of Liberia was held January 3rd, the day after Inauguration. The President, with Mrs. Francis, wife of the American Minister, led the grand march, followed by Mr. Francis and Mrs. King. His Excellency, the Governor of French Dahomey, was present.

D. W. Sherrod, leading Negro physician of Meridian, Mississippi

¶ A Superintendent of Education has been appointed for each province in Nigeria. Special textbooks are being prepared. In the Northern Provinces the training college at Katsina is graduating good teachers. Fifteen schools were opened during the year and nine more have been approved.

WEST AFRICA

¶ Nana Sir Ofori Atta, K. B. E., Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa, and first African Chief to be knighted by the King is expected in England this month. He will be accompanied by his brother, Dr. Danquah, who made an unusual record in English Universities.

ENGLAND

¶ K. A. Chunchie conducts in London the Coloured Men's Institute near the Victoria Docks in the East End. The work of the institute is just two years old, but during this time the club has a building which includes a billiard room, writing room and a prayer room.

¶ A film, "Changing Africa", has been exhibited in England. It shows Negroes in their tribal work—hunting, fighting, and bartering. Then it turns to new figures—the African magistrate driving his own car, the motor-cyclists and the schools, modern physical training, hospitals, etc.

¶ In London early in March, Mr. Spenser-Pryse held an exhibition of West African pictures at the Imperial Institute. A distinguished company attended the opening. Among the pictures was one of a mother and child, of the Lokoja market place, Takoradi Harbor, and the great tower at Kano.

A Colored Haberdashery

THE BROWSING READER

DORAN before merging with Doubleday published two interesting books—Sherwood Eddy's "Religion and Social Justice" and Kirby Page's "Dollars and World Peace". Neither of these authors realize the rôle that race prejudice plays in war and social insult but they are earnest students of other important factors. Page says:

"In many of its aspects the present foreign policy of this country is menacing to the peace of the world. We are alienating millions of people in Europe, Latin America and Asia. On both sides the Atlantic and Pacific angry passions are being aroused. It is imperative, therefore, that a more constructive foreign policy be adopted without delay."

Sherwood Eddy, who was disposed to dodge race difficulties before the war, says that:

"With the war religion began to dawn upon me as a social experience. . . . . There broke upon me the first gleams of social gospel that sought not only to save individuals for the future, but here and now in this world of bitter need to christianize the whole of life and all its relationships—industrial, social, sexual, racial, international. Religion was not primarily something to be believed, or felt; it was something to be done, a life to be lived, a principle and a program to be incarnated in character and built into a social order. This social gospel added a new dimension to my life, it raised it to a higher power."

The books sell at $1.50 each.

"Ebony and Topaz", a "Collectanea" edited by C. S. Johnson and published by the Urban League contains so much work and of such uneven quality, that it is difficult to judge or characterize it. It is a sort of big scrap book, quite without unity, even of race, and containing stories, poems, essays, plays, translations, biographies, reprints, drawings, etc. Some bits are lovely, some mediocre and others make any judgment doubtful. If the whole thing had been split up into a half dozen little booklets, each with its artistic unity and clear spiritual message, the net result would surely have been greater and more valuable.

"Stalin's Interview with the First American Trade Union Delegation to Soviet Russia" (Workers Library No. 3) has some clean, straight questions and answers. For instance:

"Question II. Is it accurate to say that the Communist Party controls the Russian Government?

Reply: It all depends upon what is meant by control. In capitalist countries they have a rather curious conception of control. I know that a number of capitalist governments are controlled by big banks, notwithstanding the existence of "democratic" parliaments. The parliaments assert that they alone control the government. As a matter of fact, the composition of the governments is predetermined, and their actions are controlled by great financial consortiums. Who does not know that there is not a single capitalist "Power" in which the Cabinet can be formed in opposition to the will of the big financial magnates? It is sufficient to exert financial pressure to cause Cabinet Ministers to fall from their posts as if they were stunned. This is real control exercised by banks over governments in spite of the alleged control of parliament. If such control is meant, then I must declare that control of the government by money-bags is inconceivable and absolutely excluded in the U. S. S. R., if only for the reason that the banks have been long ago nationalized and the money-bags have been ousted. Perhaps the delegation did not mean control, but the guidance exercised by the Party in relation to the Government. If that is what the delegation meant by its question, then my reply is: Yes, our Party does guide the Government. And the Party is able to guide the Government because it enjoys the confidence of the majority of the workers and the toilers generally and it has the right to guide the organs of the Government in the name of this majority."

W. E. B. D.

IN THE MAGAZINES

"THE Negro Goes to College" now to well-equipped schools, manned by trained teaching forces. J. H. Dillard in *Worlds Work* for January explains the evolution of Negro colleges from the late '60's when they were little more than "little red school houses", to the present, when Negro youth is so trained as to provide teachers, not only for primary and secondary schools, but also for colleges.

The same issue of *World's Work* takes us for "A Visit to Pygmyland", where, Matthew Stirling tells us, New Guinea's black Lilliputians live a Utopian existence. This community, hemmed in by snow capped mountains whose peaks brush a low hung tropical sky, exists in a stone age, totally isolated, and utterly ignorant of the world.

Albon L. Holsey says that the "Negro in Business is Aided by Racial Appeal" in *Forbes* for January 15. Emerging from slavery, Negro business took on the vestments of Negro occupations prior to emancipation; but step by step, the Negro has entered almost every known profession. Between 1900 and 1910, according to Census reports, Negroes made practically as much economic progress as they had in the thirty-five preceding years.

Howard Snyder explains some of the many reasons "Why the Negro is Moving North" in *Plain Talk* for March. Mr. Snyder states that one of the primary causes of this wholesale migration Northward is the unfairness of the share crop system, which keeps the tenants in a continuous state of indebtedness. Glowing reports from other Negroes who have found better working conditions and educational advantages in the North also play a big part in the history of the migration. Mr. Snyder advises the South to stop being stupid in her treatment of Negroes for her own economic protection.

Living Age for April 1 carries "Africa's Growing Pains", a translation of an article by Colin Ross which appeared in the *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, the Swiss Liberal Republican daily. Mr. Ross says that the future of Africa is difficult to foretell because it is impossible to estimate the cultural capabilities of the various Negro peoples and to discover how readily they can adapt themselves to the restrictions of modern states. The achievements of Negroes on the Gold Coast and in Uganda, he says, defy the popular opinion that Africans are a stupid lot, unable to simulate the habiliments of modern culture.

In the past there have been two distinct periods of leadership in Negro America says E. Franklin Frazier in discussing "The American Negro's New Leaders" in *Current History* for April. Immediately after emancipation Negroes found their leaders in the preachers and politicians. Frederick Douglass was the chief exponent of

(*Will you please turn to page* 177)

THE FAR HORIZON

A SUMMER RESORT

ADOLPH A. GEREAU writes us from St. Thomas, Virgin Islands:

Of the more than twenty-two thousand inhabitants of the Virgin Islands of the United States there are 90 per cent Negroes, and 95 per cent of these Negroes are citizens of the United States. I have been informed by reliable persons that the conditions generally existing here do not obtain anywhere in the United States, in a community of like size and importance. Lynching, segregation and the other evils we read of as occurring in the United States are foreign to us. Here Negroes meet Whites on equal terms and any discrimination that might be observed will be found to exist among very, very few Continental Americans. About 55 per cent of the wealth in Saint Thomas is held and owned by Negroes. They are owners of real estate and commercial enterprises and are found to be adequately educated to occupy the positions they hold. However, there are certain economic factors that are sure to play a very important part in placing these Negroes in a less favorable position than they at present occupy, and these are as follows: Due to the scarcity of employment they are forced to leave the islands to seek employment elsewhere, usually in the United States, and chiefly in Harlem. Those who have some capital or interests here can hold out a little longer but eventually will have to sell out their interests and leave also. This will cause a gradual, but sure, change of wealth, as all properties and other interests will be bought by White people, thus relieving Negroes of their ownership. So economically at least the Colored people are dropping to a lower level.

This can only be prevented by the race conscious Colored people of the United States taking some measures to assist the islands, and thereby maintain the position and prestige now enjoyed here.

Geographically these islands enjoy an enviable position. The salubrious climate and scenic splendor of the islands are wonderful, but are too little known to the American people. The sea beaches cannot be equalled any where else, and the opportunities for recreation and pleasure are ever present. The question is: Can the Colored people of America build a place where they might enjoy a vacation and go to for recreation, where they will be happy among American citizens of their own color, where they will meet people as refined as they are who will take an interest in them and make them happy. Where they will be rid of the discriminations, etc., etc., that we read of, in the newspapers, as happening. While White people will be amusing themselves at Palm Beach and other places in Florida, at Bermuda and other places of attraction the Colored people could be enjoying the same comforts in the Virgin Islands. It is certainly easy enough to get to the Virgin Islands. The Furness Bermuda and West Indies S. S. Company and the Colombian S. S. Company maintain regular sailings to the Virgin Islands. The New York and Porto Rico S. S. Co. and the Bull-Insular Line maintain regular sailings to Porto Rico from which place mail steamers connect with the Virgin Islands twice a week. Information can be gotten from any of these S. S. Companies with regard to sailings, prices and so forth. We have telegraph and radio here. We have telephone and electric light, automobiles, movies and every thing that modern cities should have for the comfort of citizens. Living is comparatively cheap, at any rate much cheaper than in the United States. The only trouble is that the American Negro does not know of the oportunities that are his in the Virgin Islands.

MILHOLLAND

MRS. JEANNE ROBERT FOSTER read a poem at the unveiling of the John E. Milholland bust at Cheyney. It was in part as follows:

His was a face that life impressed with love,
With eyes that poured compassion on his kind,
Measuring pity for man's blackest sin.
He gave so freely his abundant life
That we must grow in stature else ashamed,
We cannot meet the level of his eyes.
No differences of race, condition, kind
Obscured his vision of the abiding soul,
Equal and glorious in the sight of Heaven.
Hold this enduring bronze before your eyes
For inspiration and the lofty faith
He cherished. Do not think of him as dead.
There are no dead, and he who greatly lived
Cannot be less freed to the Eternal Day.
He lives within our hearts that keep his memory;
He lives forever in the heart of God.

PULLMAN PORTERS

HARRY CARR writes in the *Los Angeles Times:*

The Pullman porters say they are going to strike for higher wages and no tips. I am for the no-tip part of it.

There is no reason why these men should have to crawl and smirk to a lot of wise-cracking hosiery drummers—be called "George" and pretend to like it—in order to earn their board and keep.

A porter has a tough, trying job having to be patient with people he would like to throw off the train, and going without sleep.

I always get a kick out of the magnificent and regal air with which the nobodies on a Pullman train order around this temporary servant. You can always tell the people who are used to giving orders.

DENTISTS

A YOUNG colored man writes to us:

An advertisement in THE CRISIS reads: "There is an especially great demand for our dentists".

But I know one of these dentists. He finished well up in his class. He worked hard for that diploma. He is foreign-born and black; unattractively black as we say in America. He came out of college owing money; lots of it, even as most of us owe money: some of it to friends whom we lose because we cannot pay back within two years as Mr. Rockefeller thinks we might, some of it to loan funds, some of it to loan sharks. He came out of school two years ago owing money and unable to pay the fee for the "Board" examination in the State of his matriculation. He did not want to borrow more money. He cast about for employment. Yes, he tried to sell life insurance and got deeper in debt (only book-selling is worse). In desperation he tried the railroads. Too short for a Pullman porter. Too short and too black for a waiter. The common assumption is that a black man gets excited in the presence of a white woman quicker than a mulatto. The company is not hiring very many waiters at present, but certainly no black waiters with a foreign accent. "Ever try 'cooking'?" So he hired out as a cook at twenty-six cents an hour. A fourth cook, dish-washer, potato peeler. Twenty-six cents an hour and meals and a chance to sleep in the company's consumptive quarters. If he rides in that hot hole for 360 hours a month he will earn $93.60. If he buys no clothes, permits himself no diversion and does not get down with rheumatism he ought to be able to save a thousand dollars, within a year. Will his health hold up under that strain? Who cares? He will come out of that hole with his best years behind him. He will die too soon.

"There is an especially great demand for our dentists." True. The big cities are somewhat over-populated with professional men but the people in the small towns are still buying teeth from a peddler. The alumni of the Negro colleges are slowly learning the value of scholarships, but the cars must be paid for and

the conventions must be attended each summer.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR ART, EDUCATION, ETC.

HELEN H. SMITH writes for help in collecting an exhibit of Negro children's work. She has sent the following letter to 200 Negro schools:

The International Art Congress, which will meet in Prague, Austria, during the summer of 1928, is a convention of members and delegates from representative countries of the world, and holds at the same time an international art exhibit consisting chiefly of educational exhibits in drawing, design and industrial art.

I have been appointed by Mr. Augustus F. Rose, Chairman, to to be a member of his committee and have charge of the Negro art exhibit to be gathered from our schools in this country.

This exhibit is open to all peoples of the United States, and affords an opportunity to make conspicuous Negro work and progress, and to express ourselves artistically among the peoples of the world. I am therefore sure that your school will be desirous of assisting in sending an exhibit to Prague commensurate with the dignity of the occasion and of our group.

May I not, therefore, enroll your school, asking you to forward me an exhibit from some one or all the groups on enclosed bulletins, not later than March 15. Work done during the last 3 years is eligible providing it has not been exhibited abroad.

Miss Smith's work is endorsed by: Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Wm. Stanley Braithwaite, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller, James Weldon Johnson, Alain Locke, A. Phillip Randolph and Mrs. Mary Church Terrell.

All work should be addressed:
Miss Helen H. Smith
558 Massachusetts Avenue,
Boston, Massachusetts.

LIFE AND LIBERTY

DR. THOMAS WOODY of the University of Pennsylvania has been talking plainly according to the *Philadelphia Record*.

Linking the American Legion with the Ku Klux Klan and describing both as "American monstrosities" for what they threaten to do to teachers of American history who seek to spread truth rather than nationalistic propaganda, Dr. Thomas Woody, of the University of Pennsylvania, made one of the most outspoken presentations ever heard at a Schoolmen's Week on the University campus, yesterday. His talk was on "National Education and Beyond" and was given before the section on Comparative Education. He spoke gently of members of the D. A. R., saying that they were misguided and reflected the training received in the "finishing schools" of the past generation. But there was nothing mealy-mouthed in his dealing with Legion and Klan.

"There is exhibited a tendency to cultivate the belief that the nation can do no wrong. According to this view, history must show the nation to be always in the right. This certainly is no more of an insult to a man's intelligence than is the dictum 'my country, right or wrong' to his moral respectability.

"Nevertheless, to buttress the notion that we have always been right and led by angelic heroes, laws have been passed by enlightened American Commonwealths seeking to guarantee that the officially approved history shall not be tampered with, and teachers have been investigated for criticizing the policy of their Government."

This merits a quotation from Arthur Garfield Hays' new book "Let Freedom Ring".

"All men are created wicked and are endowed by their Creator with certain limited Privileges—that among these are Life (if you don't drink), Liberty (if you conform) and the pursuit of Gloom. That to secure these privileges, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the Ku Klux Klan, the Anti-Saloon League, the W. C. T. U., the Lord's Day Alliance, The American Defense League, the Key Men of America, the Watch and Ward Societies, the Anti-Vice Associations, and every variety of Crusader, Vigilant, Reformer and Crank."

And speaking of the right to think, we discover among readers of THE CRISIS some persons who want nothing printed with which they do not personally agree. For instance, Dr. S. P. Berry of Cleveland, writes:

In the minds of many readers of THE CRISIS, the March number was completely spoiled by "The Second Generation". The method of expression may have been inspired, but the subject-matter was nothing short of damnation. Mr. Allison Davis has made a mess of trying to tie the lambs tail to that of the lion.

Is it a joke, a dream, or a fact? If a fact, what hope can the mothers and fathers of our youths hold—except, perhaps, to be English teachers? We were taught for centuries to carry our load to the "Big White House", while free in body our souls, tho educated, still carry on—to the Big White Man. Black folks in the professions are having the time of their lives trying to show Black folks that the white man's ice is not colder than that sold by Black men.

Let the Poet's Corner be a Poet's Corner and let that poetry do good. We can ill afford to do ourselves harm."

S. R. Walker of Villanova, Pennsylvania, adds to this:

As the purpose of THE CRISIS, as far as I can understand, is for the uplifting of our race and the advancement of its interests, I fail to see what benefit can be derived from the reading of such sordid outpourings as those of the above mentioned author. If Mr. Allison actually believes such things of the second generation then he should be encouraged to keep his rank and degrading thoughts to himself and not to circulate them in a magazine of the character of THE CRISIS, whose purpose, ostensibly, is to inspire higher aspirations and ambitions than he evidently possesses.

May I ask why you give space to such unjust, uncalled for criticism of the Negro race by a man who appears to be inferior to the task he has tried to do?"

Finally, Presley Holliday calls from Seattle:

Do you agree with Eugene Gordon's statement in the *American Mercury* for February that "Like their gentlemen friends, most cream-colored Aframerican ladies are intellectual featherweights"? Do you consider it a mark of intelligence for a Negro, knowing how the Negro's inhibitions were acquired, thus to subject him to ridicule for having them?

The local Negro paper, the *Seattle Enterprise*, commenting, not unfavorably, on Mr. Gordon's article ask, "After all, in the last analysis, is not the college-bred Negro the most ignorant and stupid in the racial body?" Is not this an alarming position for one who, in the natural course of things, is supposed to stand for the best opportunity for the race? If Negro editors begin to doubt the practical benefits resulting from the higher education of the Negro and give evidence of their belief that a college education makes him the most ignorant and stupid in the racial body, Southern opponents of Negro education will use such persons' views as confirmation of the age-old Southern theory that "to educate a Negro is to spoil a good field hand".

All we can think of to say is: "Well, *well*, WELL!"

FLORIDA SCHOOLS

IT is high time that Negro tax payers do some real constructive work with reference to the length of term given to Negro schools in most places in Florida. The Legislature every two years creates extra taxes on different commodities for school purposes and yet Negro school terms are being cut shorter and shorter. The one cent gas tax and the fish and game tax recently levied have not done anything towards helping Negro schools in many Counties.

On the other hand some Counties have actually cut the term of the Negro schools. I do not want to appear as a leader but if I can get ten persons to meet me in central locations, say Orlanda, Ocalo or Tampa with the express purpose of going into the courts and see if we can not get a more equitable portion of the school funds of the state, county and districts, I will do so.

The Constitution of Florida provides for separate schools for white and colored but the funds, according to the con-

(*Will you please turn to page* 178)

Postscript
by W. E. B. DuBois

KRIGWA 1928

On Page 76 of the MARCH CRISIS and on Page 133 of the APRIL CRISIS we have already announced two sets of prizes for 1928.

First, the Charles Waddell Chesnutt Honoraria. These are prizes of $25, $15 and $10 awarded each month for one year beginning with the APRIL number. We are pleased to announce of prizes for 1928:

First Prize—A story, "Bethesda of Sinner's Run", by Maude Irwin Owens $25.00
Second Prize—A cover picture "Rabboni" by Laura Wheeler Waring $15.00
Third Prize—"The Negro Common School in Oklahoma" by Horace Mann Bond $10.00

Second, Economic Prizes offered by 5 Negro banks and 7 Negro insurance societies as follows:

One First Prize.....	$200.
One Second Prize	150.
One Third Prize	100.
Two Fourth Prizes	50. each
Eight Prizes for Honorable Mention	25. each
A total of	$750.

Entries for these prizes close December 31, 1928, and the awards will be announced in the early spring of 1929.

Read this and the two previous announcements carefully. If you have further specific questions, write the Editor.

THE NEGRO POLITICIAN

WHILE I was in Chicago, a listener at Winnetka threw this question at me, tensely, with evident deep resentment: "What have you to say to the course of Negro politicians who are following Thompson in the municipal campaign?" I answered the question indirectly and unsatisfactorily, because its fuller answer would have called for a lecture in itself. I said merely, "The Negro in Chicago and the Negro in New York has as much right to ally himself to political graft as represented by Tammany and Thompson, as have more respectable people, in allying themselves with Insul and Vare and Frank Smith."

The whole matter, however, calls for deeper explanation and frank heart searching on the part of the American Negro. What happens to us continually is this: If we keep out of politics, we give the whip hand to our enemies. They pass segregation laws; they curtail liberty of the press and of speech; they hinder the right to organize; they discriminate by law, not simply against color, but against ignorance and poverty and the victims of any deep-seated public dislike. We have got to vote or be enslaved.

When we vote, we do not have a chance to vote on the real merits of the questions presented. We cannot consider the tariff, farm relief, war, peace, municipal ownership, superpower, and a dozen other pressing political questions. No, we have got to ask: Does Herbert Hoover believe that Negroes are men or sub-men? What is the attitude of Al Smith toward the Negro problem? Does Reed of Missouri believe in education for Negroes or is he part of the consipracy that deprives Lincoln University of decent buildings? Can any man born south of the Mason and Dixon Line be for a moment considered as a man or must he always be put down as a raging beast, in alliance with lynching, disfranchisement, "Jim Crow" cars, and public insult?

Under such circumstances, intelligent voting on the part of colored men in the United States becomes a disheartening farce. In Chicago, they can choose between two things: on the one hand, open gambling, bootlegging, prostitution, and Thompson; and on the other hand, segregation, denial of representation, loss of decent jobs and public insult under Deneen or the Democrats. What on earth is an honest black voter to do?

In New York, there is the same impossible dilemma. Tammany and a Mayor, who is still unable to explain a certain incident in Italy; on the other silk-stocking snobs, who refuse the Negroes representation and gerrymander them out of the city Hall, the state legislature and the United States Congress.

In the same way, the Philadelphia Negro can choose between Vare and bribery, or graft, Pepper, snobbery, and "Jim Crow" schools.

Who can blame the American Negro if he votes for the worst, when it is only in this sort of alliance that he can receive the semblance of decent treatment?

On the other hand, it is perfectly clear that the Negroes who are supporting graft and political machines in the chief cities of the United States, are thereby incurring the distrust, enmity and active opposition of the intelligent people of the United States; of those very people who with all their vision, never, so far as the Negro is concerned, see beyond their own noses.

THIRKIELD

BISHOP WILBUR P. THIRKIELD of the M. E. Church retires from the active ministry this spring. A testimonial has been given him at Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina, with many distinguished persons present. Bishop Thirkield has been a friend of American black folk, and through a long life of unusual activity, passed largely in the South, he has not failed to be counted against race prejudice and for universal democracy in this land.

BLACKLIST

THE Editor has had the honor to be blacklisted by the Daughters of the American Revolution, along with President Wooley, Felix Frankfurter, Anna Louise Strong, Clarence Darrow, Stephen Wise, Norman Hapgood, Frank P. Walsh, David Starr Jordan, and most other Americans with either brains or backbone. The Editor is deeply obliged and begs to express hereby his sense of the honor conferred.

THE SPRING PILGRIMAGE, 1928.

IT began Saturday, March 3rd, when I rushed 973 miles to Chicago, arriving one-half hour late and finding

that Aurora, instead of being an hour away was nearly one hour and a half. I was late at the community forum in the leading Congregational Church, but the audience had waited graciously and listened to modern problems of race and color.

I intimated that we are so sensitive at times that we see race prejudice where it does not exist. The Chairman afterward said: "True! I notified the colored churches that special seats would be reserved them and they telephoned in horror: 'Do not reserve special seats!'" He really didn't mean anything, he explained. Then I went back to Chicago and to the Hotel Grand, quiet and efficient, with a beautiful outlook on bronze George Washington and the park. That night I spoke at a radical forum in West Chicago.

Monday, I had a thousand Northwestern students who listened to the story of Negro literature in the Chapel Church, and then I lunched with Herskovits and his wife. That night, with my hat on, I talked in an orthodox Jewish synagogue. Tuesday, I went out to Winnetka, to a settlement of young Jewish married couples: educated, smart, well-to-do, in beautiful homes with a new synagogue; racially intensely conscious, so much so that when I spoke of "your race", they thought I meant Jews; when I really meant white folk. There were perhaps 50 of them, in a lovely parlor.

Wednesday, I looked at the new dance hall in Chicago, the Savoy; a part of a large amusement plant, representing an investment by white capital to entertain the black South Side. Thursday, the Desaible Club of a hundred colored men met at the Appommatox, and I went through the economic development of Negroes. Friday, I dined with Dr. Bentley.

Then, after five interesting days, I went back 247 miles to the University of Michigan, and, introduced by the charming brown girl President of the Negro-Caucasian Club, talked to perhaps 400. Afterward, we had dinner at the Union. There was that curious pause before we sat down to the table which always betokens some racial trouble. You see, white and colored students, men and women, and some teachers, were all going to eat together. It would not do to have them in the main dining room. We had a nice private dining room and the most interesting dinner. At night, some 25 or more, met at a professor's house. The wife tended the babies and sketched me. The students asked all questions under the sun. After that, 36 miles to Detroit, with 750 black folk in the Y. M. C. A. gymnasium, a strong audience.

The next day, I talked to some 500 at the City College and in the afternoon, to a group of perhaps 40 students. One girl, with a kindling face, finished the day with this question: "How would you like to have your daughter marry a white man?" I was frank.

Then 168 miles to Grand Rapids. Just what happened in Grand Rapids, I do not yet know. I was asked to come by white people. Then colored people asked for a second engagement. Then white and colored canceled the second engagement. I stayed at a white hotel; was entertained graciously at dinner and lunch by groups of white men. I came to my audience and found it almost entirely a colored audience. I saw practically no colored people to meet or talk to. What happened in Grand Rapids?

From Grand Rapids, 100 miles to South Bend and a quiet home. "Revivals" had been going on for five weeks and "souls" were still yelling. There were 100 persons to listen and a kindly white minister. I rushed that night 85 miles to Chicago; changed bags at the hotel; and then 408 miles to Minneapolis, with a sleeper only to seven in the morning, and then a long day ride through Wisconsin and Minnesota. We stopped for dinner and I ate a full one. The Conductor asked me if I enjoyed it. "We held the train for you," he said. There was a reception at Wheatly House and cosy hospitality at B. S. Smith's; a large meeting in a colored church and, next day, three hours of discussion at the Saturday Luncheon Club,—most inspiring. Then back again over those 408 miles to Chicago and to the Uptown Forum, Sunday night with perhaps 750 people; eager listeners.

Monday, I was off 284 miles to Missouri, where I stayed at Poro and found the waitresses unusually efficient and polite. Fifteen Hundred people were at the new colored high school, St. Louis, and Charles Nagel, ex-Secretary of Commerce and Labor, introduced me with kindly words. I found Buckner just dead; that most promising of our new Western financial leaders.

At Jefferson City, 125 miles away, I spoke to the students and rode in the night; a school without a plant and a state too mean and dishonest to build one; and then I began a wandering among Missouri railroads; 51 miles and three and one-half hours wait to "Mexico". Another 50 miles and one-half hours wait at "Louisiana". Twenty-four miles to Hannibal and a gorgeous dinner. There was an earnest audience of 100, who endured a 30-minute introduction. The Baptists were not present. Their pastor had held over his ten-day revival so as to include my lecture. Then back to "Louisiana" and "Centralia," where instead of two and one-half hours to wait, there came a comfortable auto and two nice men.

We went over to Columbia, where the white University of Missouri lurks. I shall never forget that audience. It was in the spacious and well-built gymnasium of the colored school, and my startled eyes looked down upon flappers and grey-beards, white and black, 250 students and a few professors from the white University of Missouri, and 300 working people and others from colored Columbia where they lynched a man recently. I talked on the "Contributions which the Negro has made to American Civilization", but just what my own contribution was that night to this astonishing audience, I fear I shall never know.

Next day, I went off 178 miles to Kansas City and to Beatrice Frances. Beatrice Frances is four. She will be "five on the 28th of next July". I found favor in the dark eyes of Beatrice Frances and when I started to go Sunday night, she said aside to Mother: "We don't want him to go, do we? Ask him to stay until Tuesday or something!"

On Saturday night, the black leaders of Missouri were in Kansas City, on their way to the Republican Convention at St. Joseph. They came and greeted me. On Sunday night, 800 persons or more, seven-eights of them white, sat before me on the free platform of the Linwood Church. It was pretty nearly a Southern white audience. They were ready for plain talk and I think they got it; but both Pickens and White had paved the way.

In the discussion, one Southern white man had gotten too much. He asserted with his lovely drawl, that he was "interested" in colored people, but that I was claiming too much. "Of course, everybody knows that Caucasians are superior!"

Finally, 450 miles to Chicago and to the dinner of the Delta Sigma Theta. Two hundred assembled at the City Club and we assayed Negro literature. It was a charming ending. Then 960 miles home.

Thus for 25 days I spoke to 20 audiences of 9250 persons—5500 white and 3750 colored. I travelled 4729 miles and I saw and heard far more than I can tell. Altogether the message spelled Hope.

OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE

THERE can be no doubt but what the whole economic future of the Negro in America is ready for new thought and new planning. All the old slogans and old advice are worthless. To ask an individual colored

man today to go into the grocery business or to open a drygoods shop or to sell meat, shoes, candy, books, cigars, clothes or fruit is competition with the Chain Store, is to ask him to commit slow but almost inevitable economic suicide, unless he has some unusual local or personal advantage.

The individual shopkeeper is disappearing in the American world, and his place is being taken by great country-wide organizations which sell food, clothes, cars, coal, coffee, furniture and hundreds of other things to meet the needs of men; and sell them at a price which makes attempted competition futile. The managers of these stores are appointed, and usually no colored men need apply. The workers in the stores and factories are hired, either in agreement with unions that keep out Negroes, or on an open shop basis, where Negroes are admitted only at the lowest wages.

In general industry, Negroes can become common laborers, underpaid and thereby ousting white competitors and thus engendering deep racial hatreds. Only in exceptional cases do Negroes get a chance in the higher ranks of skilled laborers or as Foreman or Managers.

In the credit world Negroes get bank credit with much greater difficulty than white men of equal honesty and ability. Negro banks are small and in any crisis they are dependent on the white banks of the city, and, of course, on the great white banking ring of the country. If for any reason, any influential part of any community wishes to crush a Negro bank, the bank is worse than helpless. The story of Memphis confirms this.

Nearly all of the old independent trades are now part of highly organized combinations, financed with large capital: like bakers, blacksmiths, firemen, jewelers, cigar-makers, painters, cabinetmakers, shoemakers, tailors, upholsters, tinsmiths, and any number of others. Men in the building trades are at the mercy of powerful trade unions, contractors backed endless bank credit and real estate combinations. In transportation, the Negro is absolutely excluded by the railroad unions and only has a desperate chance as longshoreman and laborer.

In the whole realm of manufacturing under the factory system, the Negro is excluded by the trades union and the deliberate and wide spread agreement of employers. Outside the cigar-making factories and the needle trades, there are practically no Negro operatives in cotton mills, candy factories, furniture factories, grain mills, leather factories, brass, copper, lead and zinc mills, paper mills, textile mills and hundreds of the like.

In the realm of personal service, the Negro has a chance as porter and servant, and in service for his own race. In professional service we have a first-rate record of desert in medicine, dentistry, literature, law, music and teaching, and a long tradition in the ministry; but these professions depend on a strong wage earning and income receiving mass and this we grievously lack.

In agriculture, thirty years training by Hampton and Tuskegee has decreased the proportion of Negro farmers in the colored population, and so few of their graduates have become farmers that they refuse to publish the figures. Hampton and Tuskegee are not to blame for this. They attempted the impossible. Farming for white and black today in the United States is a failing, unprofitable business; and the efforts to help it—farm credits and farm relief,—are not for Negroes.

In the face of this situation, there is no organized and thoughtful effort toward reform. The industrial school never accomplished the object which it had in mind, and which it widely advertised. It has not filled the land with Negro carpenters, bricklayers, wagon-builders, cooks and printers. Only to a limited extent are such schools training artisans today and all of the major industrial schools are being transformed into colleges.

What is to be done? There is to my mind only one way out: Manufacturing and consumers co-operation among the major part of twelve million people on a wide and ever-increasing scale. There must be the slow, but carefully planned growth of manufacturing trusts, beginning with the raising of raw material on Negro farms; extending to its transportation on Negro trucks; its manufacture in Negro factories; its distribution to Negro co-operative stores, supported by intelligent and loyal Negro consumers.

Such an organization is above and beyond race prejudice and trust competition. Once established on the basis of the English, Scandinavian, German and Russian co-operatives, it would insure the economic independence of the American Negro for all time.

Beside this could grow credit systems and co-operative banks which could bring the Negro-American group into carefully articulated co-operation with the West Indies and South America; with West Africa and South Africa.

It is more than idiotic,—it is criminal, for American Negroes to stagger blindly on, hugging the fond illusion that white philanthropy through industrial education, is going to furnish them with future steady employment and economic independence. It is equally idiotic to hope that white laborers will become broad enough or wise enough to make the cause of black labor their own. These things will never be done in our day. Our economic future lies in the hands of carefully trained thinkers, technical engineers, and the unswerving will to sacrifice on the part of intelligent masses.

ROBERT E. LEE

MRS. LILLIE B. C. WYMAN writes us:

I am much interested by the article in the last CRISIS concerning Robert E. Lee —so much so, that I want to tell you that I am now studying Lee's life. I have been doing that for some months. I am writing something which may or may not ever be published, but in it I take substantially the same ground as you do in that article. I maintain, in sentences written weeks ago, that if Lee did not know that he was fighting for slavery, he was almost mentally deficient.

After all, Wendell Phillip was a seer, and he perceived and told the truth about Lee's moral nature, in his address on the death of Lincoln.

I think, however, that Lee was a traitor to his country, as well as to humanity. A rebel is not always a traitor to his country; that matter depends on the righteousness or unrighteousness of the cause for which he rebels. Lee's cause was evil,—and he did not even believe that secession would be good for the South.

You know, of course, that there have been statements made in several prominent books, that Lee freed, early in his life, such slaves as he personally owned. I have hunted that statement down to find its source, and two of Lee's most eminent champions have admitted that they knew of no authority for the statement. One of these persons had himself made it in a book, which has probably done more than any other single volume, to create this modern idolatry of Lee.

"Justice and Truth" adds:

Your Postscript on Robert E. Lee in the MARCH CRISIS leads me to suggest that you obtain a file of the N. Y. *Tribune* of June 14, 1890, and read the letter of Henry Stone of Boston who shows from General Townsend's book, that Lee's only reason for becoming secessionist, and giving up his military oath, was his statement to General Scott: "General, the property belonging to my children, all they possess, lies in Virginia. They will be ruined if they do not go with their state. I cannot raise my hand against my children." Also, the English eulogist of Lee, General Maurice in his Life, gives a letter by Lee—and one by his wife—each showing Lee did not believe secession was right. It was only selfish regard for property that led Lee to desert the country which had made him.

Also, get a file of the *New York Sun*, October 18, 1900, and read Dana's terrible editorial denunciation of Lee. "Should Lee be in the Hall of Fame?" This editorial should never be forgotten.

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TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

The Young Blood Hungers

(*Continued from page* 151)

hollows within—seeking to catch up with something greater than yourself in a swift mad consuming fire-flash of living?

—It's the gnawing pains.—

Gnawing pains make you toss your body around. Make you toss your body now this way—now that. Young Blood hungers. Young Blood feels the gnawing pains of hunger—you do not know where your body will come—where it will go. All you wish is to toss your self away from the pain gnawing within.

—It's the gnawing pains.—

Can a mote appear to lay blindness across the vision?

Isn't there a part of Young Blood that leapt into being at Eternity and goes on through all Eternity? Isn't there something that sees beyond curls and rouge?

—I speak not for myself alone, Lord.—

Something winding and winding in the rhythmic inanities of a dance, Young Blood hears things beside the music—the feet—the talk—the chaff of laughter.

Sometimes when you teeter to a jazz-band's play voices speak within you and seem to say:

OH dance, fool! Dance!
You may prance, fool, prance
You may skim, you may slide,
You may dip, you may glide,
But you've lied to yourself,
Oh you've lied—lied—lied.
—Gave a damn for the night—
—Chanced your all upon Today—
But you've lied! Yes you've lied!
—I'm the Voice that never died.

VOICES and Hunger. Searchings and Seekings. Stumbling—falling—rising again. —I speak not for myself alone, Lord! The Young Blood hungers. —Back toward an Eternity. Facing Eternity. Perhaps that is the way in which Young Blood is to sit—back toward an Eternity—face toward an Eternity—hungering.

Perhaps it must be that God must be sought in new ways—new ways—fewer steps—fewer steps—each time there comes Young Blood—each time there comes Young Blood—until they find Him.

A few less steps each time. A few less steps each time.

Soon the top.

Then—no longer Hunger.

Then no longer—Hunger.

—I speak not for myself alone, Lord! The Young Blood hungers.—

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74 W. Rutland Sq., Boston, Mass.

Haiti

(*Continued from page* 153)

minates in a selective temporary mating. After all, there is something to be said, as Roosevelt pointed out, for an increased birthrate.

These dances were outlawed by Toussaint L'Ouverture, by decree of January 8, 1800,[5] on the alleged ground that they led to political disturbances. They have been rebanned by the Americans. The possession of a voodoo drum by a native means its confiscation, plus a fine or jail sentence. The drums still boom in the hills.

As an ingrained conservative, we regret the passing of such good old customs as Congo cannibalism, Greek symposiums, and Haitian voodoo dances.

(*To be concluded in the June* CRISIS)

Banks in Memphis

(*Continued from page* 154)

banks, which in former years had often been willing to give aid, now in every case refused; but the Negroes raised among themselves between $60,000 and $70,000. Nevertheless, the incident became known and caused a three-day run. The bank was compelled to close. Then came the extraordinary revelation.

After closing the institution and going into the records, the examiners discovered within 24 hours more than they had been able to discover in 10 years, with reference to the Fraternal Savings Bank affairs. They discovered and announced to the public that the President had embezzled to the amount of $50,000 and associated with him in his crooked deals were the Assistant Cashier and Teller. A few days later they announced that the shortage would reach probably $250,000 or $300,000. In other words, the shortage of the Consolidated Bank was almost equal to the total resources of the former Fraternal bank! Yet these same examiners were the ones that had examined Mr. Ward's banking activities five or six times a year for a number of years and had apparently been unable to discover anything wrong or even suspicious.

Of course, the colored people believe an entirely different story. They believe that Ward had been looting his bank for a series of years and that the bank examiners knew it; that they connived at the union of this tottering bank with the perfectly sound Solvent Bank and that some powerful group in Memphis wished this in order to kill both banks and to strike a blow both at the political and at the economic leadership of Negroes by Negroes in the financial center of the

[5] Leger, work cited, p. 104.

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great Southern Mississippi Valley. Some have even insinuated that the Exalted Cyclops of the Ku Klux Klan had issued an edict and that edict was being carried out.

THE action of the bank examiners and the public after the defalcation of Ward was discovered, was curiously different from their usual action in the case of tottering banks. Generally, every effort was made to minimize the impending disaster and protect credit. If bonds were required for liquidation, only officers and directors were notified and not the general public lest the action hurt the credit of some of those white directors and cripple their business before they could pay the bond. Not so in the case of the directorate of the Fraternal Solvent Savings Bank. In spite of the fact that they were men of honor and business standing, the fact of their having signed a bond was turned over to reporters; the most delicate information concerning every move which they had made to safeguard the depositors and the public was given out to newspaper men.

Confidential business of men dealing with the bank was flagrantly disclosed to the public. They published the names of corresponding banks, naming among others a little bank run by Negro farmers at Indianola, Mississippi, as having "a large sum" in the defunct bank. This caused a run and that bank closed. Afternoon editions announced that this was "a mistake". The Indianola bank had little or nothing on deposit. Indeed, apparently in their eagerness to deal Negro business a crushing blow, the examiners give the public information sufficient to convince anyone that they themselves were either incompetent or criminally negligent. The Memphis banking world stood aloof. When other failures were threatened in the past banks rushed in with the cash to enable the threatened to withstand the runs; they muzzled the press; they gave to the public what they thought the public ought to know and no more; in some cases where the entire capital and surplus of these white institutions were completely wiped out, other banking groups supplied new capital or took them over; where assets were frozen, they furnished liquid assets until the frozen assets could be realized. In this case they did nothing.

SOME matters were brought out in the case of the Solvent Bank and criticized which, if properly understood, should bring only praise, and which illustrated the peculiarly difficult field in which a Negro bank today operates. Endorsements of well-to-do Negro citizens were used often in this bank instead of commercial paper as security. But this is almost necessary because of the peculiar economic situation of Negroes today. Moreover, it had been proven safe: some years ago the Negroes started the Citizens Co-operative Stores, which prospered for a while all over Memphis; but eventually they were unable to meet the competition of the white Chain grocery store. They failed. The Solvent Bank took up much of their endorsed paper and these notes were gradually paid off over a series of years; it was only a matter of time when the obligations would have been completely liquidated.

This then is the situation. The disaster affected more than 15,000 industrious and thrifty Negro depositors, and over fifty colored corporations and firms. It paralyzed 70,000 Negroes living in Memphis, and yet it was looked upon by the white press and white public of this territory as a huge joke; they "kidded" the thrifty hotel waiter who happened to be a director; they brought to the forefront the tom-cat which lived at the bank; they reproduced the lies of ante-bellum Negroes who never had a cent of money in the bank, and who took pleasure in talking to "their white folks". They gave to these Negroes front page stories in large type, while scarcely a word was said about the sacrifices made by intelligent Negroes to save the institution after the run had started and after their sister white institutions had refused to offer aid.

WHAT will be the result in Memphis? It is interesting to quote from a black man on the spot:

"Whatever the cause — the faith, hope and confidence of the thinking Negroes of Memphis is not shattered. They are as yet undefeated and in the language of the poet:

"They are old, they are bent, they are cheated
Of all that youth urged them to win;
But count them not with the defeated
For tomorrow again, they begin."

"There will spring up in this city, which is located in the corner of three great states, Arkansas, Tennessee and Mississippi, another banking institution under the supervision of the national government, a National Bank, if you please, owned and operated by Negroes!"

N.A.A.C.P.

(*Continued from page* 155)

tion of the rest of the country that the South shall not stay barbarous.

Below, we show railroad and Pullman rates from the principal points

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of THE CRISIS, published monthly, at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1928.

County of New York, } ss.:
State of New York, }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared W. E. Burghardt DuBois, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of THE CRISIS and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business manager are:

Publisher—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Editor—W. E. Burghardt DuBois, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—W. E. Burghardt DuBois, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Business Manager—W. E. Burghardt DuBois, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a corporation with no stock.

Moorfield Storey, President.
James Weldon Johnson, Secretary.
Joel E. Spingarn, Treasurer.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

W. E. B. DU BOIS,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 31st day of March, 1927.

Raymond L. Butler, Notary Public. N. Y. County No. 508. Certificate filed in N. Y. County, Reg. No. 0-641. Commission expires Mar. 30, 1930.

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We want you all to join the trip if you can possibly do so.

covered by the tour. These railroad rates are for the round trip, going and returning via direct routes. If you decide to return via Portland or Seattle, add $18.00 to the railroad rates. The Pullman rates are for the trip to Los Angeles, only:

	R. R. Fare	*Lower*	*Upper*
New York	$138.32	$32.63	$26.10
Boston	147.66	33.76	27.00
Worcester	144.46	33.76	27.00
Springfield	140.58	32.63	26.10
Albany	133.20	31.88	25.50
Utica	127.75	31.13	24.90
Syracuse	124.69	30.01	24.00
Rochester	120.07	29.26	23.40
Buffalo	116.10	29.26	23.40
Cleveland	105.65	27.38	21.90
Toledo	99.48	27.38	21.90
Detroit	101.70	27.38	21.90
Chicago	90.30	23.63	18.90
Philadelphia	133.14	31.88	25.50
Washington	130.45	31.88	25.50
Richmond	130.45	31.88	25.50
Cincinnati	101.35	27.38	21.90

How Much Insurance

(*Continued from page* 156)

family of five. For smaller families or larger ones the figures for Food and Clothing must necessarily vary.

ON A WEEKLY INCOME OF

To Be Spent for	$30 to $50	$50 to $75	$75 to $100	$100 and Over
	%	%	%	%
Food	24	22	18	15
Clothing	11	11	11	11
Rent or Building & Loan	23	23	23	20
Laundry and Cleaners	3	3	4	5
Fuel, Light, Telephone	6	6	6	6
Taxes and Interest	2	2	2	2
House Furnishings	2	3	4	5
Health	3	4	4	5
Automobile	6	6	6	6
Amusements and Radio	3	3	3	3
Lodge Dues and Church Donations	2	2	3	4
Life Insurance and Savings	10	10	10	12
Education, Books, Papers	2	2	3	3
Barber, Shoe Repairs and Beauty Culture	3	3	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100

This can and should be modified by the experience of each family, to fit peculiar local conditions. But it can be seen that a family with an income of $50 per week can spend $260 per year for insurance. A family with an income of $75 per week can spend $390 per year for insurance. On $100 per week at least $10 per week, or $520 per year can be spent for insurance. And on $125 to $150 per week it would not be out of place to spend at least $1,000 a year for insurance.

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The Little Page

(*Continued from page* 157)

said he. "You're with the cress, and with the water cress you go into the hold." And he bade four kobolds haul up Acorn Cap. "Ooze of a frog, musk of a muskrat as though you descended from periwig days, feather of an owl! Marked thus you come to us. From where?" indignantly continued Captain Float as Acorn Cap was being landed on deck.

Head drooped, Acorn suffered four kobolds to lead him below while a song that the merry passengers had been singing,

"Fair young night,
Lotus white!"

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was changed to,

"Ooze of frog,
Musk from rat,
Plume of owl!

"Whence? From Bog?
Old sedan?
Or wood prowl?"

When the Twilight Trip returned to shore with the coming of dawn Acorn Cap sprang joyously to landing at the foot of that same willow where he had wept a short while ago.

Ivy Leaf Stars

IVY leaf stars are olive-blue,
Twinkling when they are wet with dew.
They sparkle on the walls and ground
Where real sky stars are never found.

The Tulip Bloom Umbrellas

THE tulip bloom umbrellas close
When there's to be a shower,
And that's when people lift up theirs—
It's different with a flower.

The Browsing Reader

(*Continued from page* 165)

this period. The second period was inaugurated by Booker T. Washington whose program of opportunism is well known and ended with his death. The causes of the new leadership brought on by the World War, were the spread of education and the urbanization of the Negro population. The new leadership is a creative one, sponsored by educated men with scientifically trained minds. While these men believe Negroes should participate in political affairs, they do not make a fetish of this, but view politics in relation to other social forces.

Harold P. Marley in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* for January, tells us of the new approach to "The Negro in Recent Sounthern Literature". An attempt is being made to look at life through the Negro's eyes. The result is that Negroes in literature are no longer playing the rôles of supporting characters to white plots, but are standing on their own feet, moving in and out of their own recondite communities.

"Nobody knows de trouble I see,
Nobody knows but Jesus".

This is the song lament of an anguished people. The Reverend A. M. Chirgwin, who tells the story of "The Vogue of the Negro Spiritual" in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, says America has given little of sheer beauty to the world and counts the Spirituals as her greatest artistic achievement. Mr. Chirgwin paints a vivid picture of these elusive melodies of misery which found their medium in the strong black throats of slaves.

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The Far Horizon

(*Continued from page* 167)

stitution must be used according to ration with no difference in term or anything else on account of the color. We have set by and let this unjust discrimination go on long enough and what I am suggesting is that the colored people in every county affected come together and raise a fund and hire the best counsel obtainable to fight this thing in courts. It can't make conditions any worse and we have many reasons to believe it will settle once for all the term of our schools.

May we mention here a case in our county (Manafee): the district Board (Bradenton) in making up the 1927-28 budget for school purposes included in the budget for teachers salaries alone about $78,000; through my efforts they included $12,000 for the colored schools of the district. There was available or allotted something over $4,000 from the general fund for Negro schools of this particular district. None of the gas tax or fish and game tax were allotted to the colored schools of this district. Nevertheless this made over $16,000 available for Negro schools. If the colored schools with the present number of teachers had run eight months the salaries would have amounted to $7,200. Nevertheless they cut the Negro schools to five months paying only $4,500 in salaries and thus deprived Negro schools of over $11,500 of money actually appropriated. Meantime the district was taxed to the limit and the white schools amply provided for.

We employed a lawyer to represent us at the Board and the figures and facts relative to the above condition was disclosed by our lawyer in our presence and in the presence of a number of the county Board. This lawyer asked the Board to continue our school for three months longer or we would mandamus the Board. This the Board refused to do and mandamus proceedings were the next move. But the unfortunate thing was that the court would have had to settle it and of course the teachers would have had to wait until the courts acted to get their pay.

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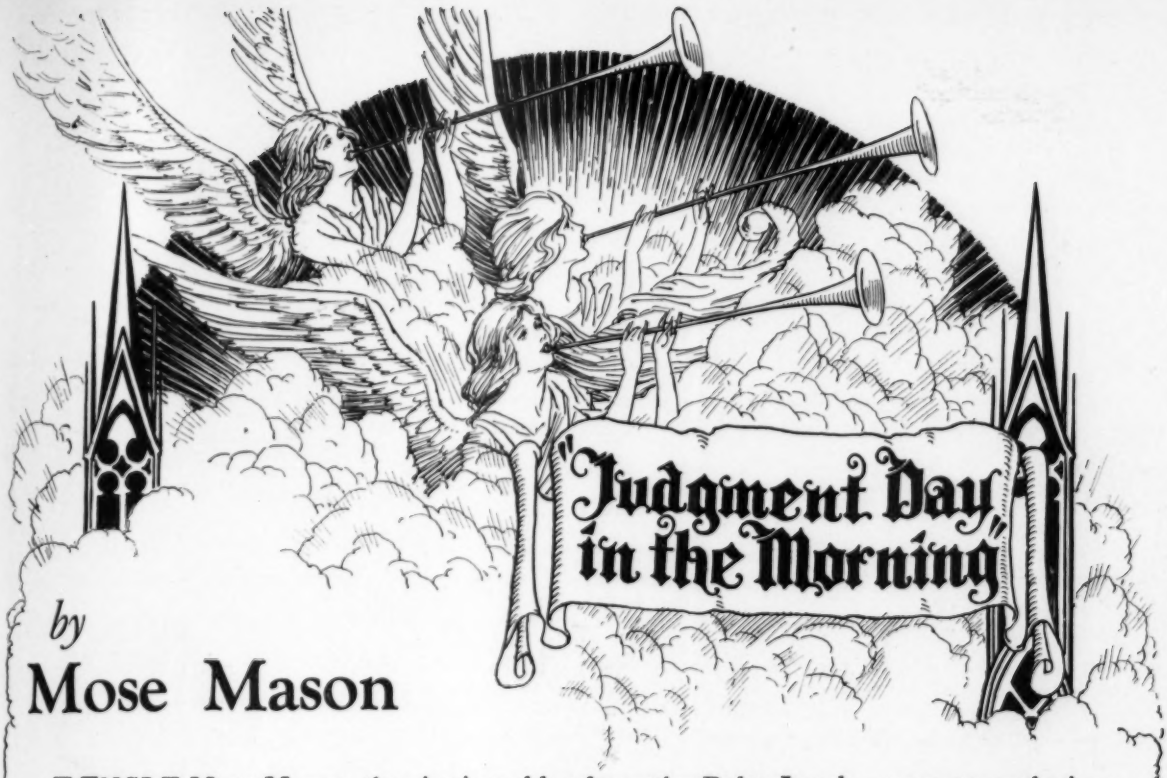

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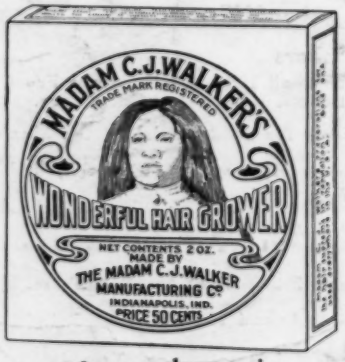

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